









Government of Bengal

Final Report on the  
Survey and Settlement Operations  
in the District of Malda  
1928—1935

*By*

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**MAPS.****1. Frontispiece—**

- (a) 6-inch contact print taken by Air Survey in mauzas Shekari and Suvanpur.
- (b) Same contact print after enlargement to 16-inch scale and rectification.
- (c) Cadastral map of the same area.

**2. Map showing remains of Pandua—2"=1 mile.****3. Map showing remains of Gaur—2"=1 mile.****4. Map of Malda district showing mulberry, mango and lac cultivation—1"=4 miles.****5. Pargana map of Malda district—1"=4 miles.****6. Map of Malda district—1"=4 miles.****7. Map showing temporarily-settled private and khas mahal estates—1"=4 miles.**

6" Contact Print



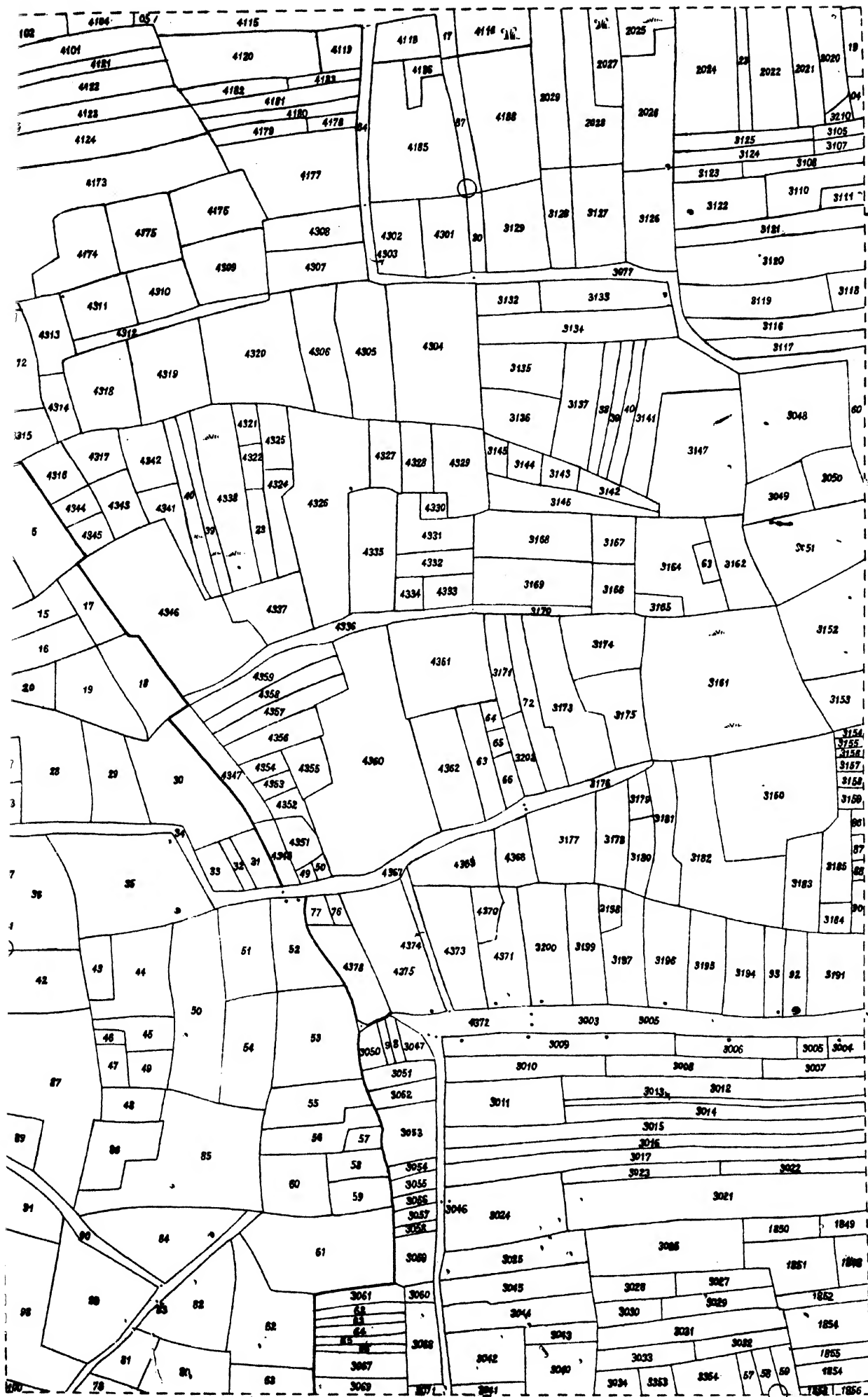
THE ORIGINAL PHOTOGRAPH, OR CONTACT PRINT, TAKEN BY  
THE AIR SURVEY COMPANY IN MAUZAS SHIKARI, SURANPUR  
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THE SAME CONTACT PRINT AFTER ENLARGEMENT TO 16" SCALE, AND RECTIFICATION









# Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the district of Malda.

## Part I—The Land and the People.

### Chapter I—Physical features.

1. **Boundaries.** — The district of Malda lies in the north-west corner of the province between  $24^{\circ} 30'$  and  $25^{\circ} 32' 30''$  north latitude, and  $87^{\circ} 48'$  and  $88^{\circ} 33' 3''$  east longitude. It is bounded on the north by Purnea and Dinajpur districts, on the east by Dinajpur and Rajshahi, on the south by Rajshahi and Murshidabad, and on the west by Murshidabad, the Santal Parganas and Purnea. The Ganges flows along the western and south-western boundary.

2. **Administration.** — The district was formed in 1813 out of portions of Purnea, Dinajpur and Rajshahi districts. The prevalence of crime, and the extreme distance of these outlying areas from their district headquarters, rendered closer supervision necessary. A Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector was appointed and placed in charge of a number of thanas, which correspond nearly to the district as it stands to-day, with the exception of Kharba and Harishchandrapur police-stations. These were added to the district in 1896. In 1832, a treasury was established, and from 1859 the district was placed in charge of a Magistrate and Collector. The district boundary was published by notification in 1875, since when minor transfers have been made, the most important of which was the transfer in 1929 of Bhutni diara, a large island char in the Ganges, from Santal Parganas to Malda. The district was under the Bhagalpur Division from 1876 until 1905, when it was transferred back to the Rajshahi Division on the formation of the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. There are no outlying subdivisions. The civil and criminal administration is carried on from the district headquarters at English Bazar, which is conveniently situated in the centre of the district. Proposals have been made for the division of the district into three subdivisions, but the volume of criminal work is not sufficient to warrant the expenditure which these proposals would involve. Judicially, Malda is under the

jurisdiction of the District Judge, Rajshahi, who holds the sessions at English Bazar and hears appeals.

3. **Thanas and areas.**—The district comprises the following police stations. The areas given in the table below include the diara strip of 401 square miles surveyed in 1916-18 during the Rajshahi Settlement Operations. It should be noted that owing to the omission of decimals from the figures below, the total area of the district has been shown as 1,987 square miles, whereas the actual area to the nearest square mile is 1,986 :—

Police-stations.	Square miles.
Harishchandrapur	... 150
Kharba	... 142
Gajole	... 198
Bamangola	... 68
Habibpur	... 153
Old Malda	... 87
English Bazar	... 98
Ratua	... 156
Manikchak	... 113
Kaliachak	... 209
Sibganj	... 183
Bholahat	... 48
Gomastapur	... 123
Nachole	... 110
Nawabganj	... 149
• District Total	... 1,987

4. **The Barind.**—The Mahananda river flows from north to south throughout the entire length of the district, dividing it into two roughly equal parts, which present widely differing features. Both banks are fringed with populous villages and are thickly overgrown with orchards and vegetation. To the east of this thickly populated strip, however, lies the undulating tract known as the Barind, which stretches into Dinajpur and Rajshahi and forms a marked contrast to the other half of

the district. The name "**Barind**" is derived from the word "**Barendra**." According to tradition the Mahananda was the boundary in olden days between the territory of the Barendra and the Rarhi Brahmins.

The country is high, open and undulating, seamed with small water-courses in the valleys, and practically devoid of shade except for the village sites and small patches of sal forest here and there in Habibpur police-station. It is sparsely populated, and the villages consist for the most part of small hamlets, in many cases comprising only a few scattered homesteads clustering at the top of an undulation. Separate paras invariably exist where there are Santals and Rajbangshis or other castes in the same village. During the hot weather the Barind is an inhospitable area for the touring officer. The ground is baked hard as iron, drinking water is scarce, there are practically no roads, and as one moves across the country, the eye is met by a seemingly endless series of terraced slopes, devoid of any crop, and quivering under the heat of the sun. In autumn the same country is a green expanse of winter rice.

It is interesting to compare the present condition of the Barind with its earlier history. There can be little doubt that during the time of the Mogul Empire it was thickly populated and prosperous. It lay within a day's journey of the capitals of Gaur and Pandua and its inhabitants must have had frequent intercourse with those cities. The brick remains which are found scattered all over it indicate that there must have been many masonry buildings, while the large number of tanks, now for the most part silted up, testify from their situation that a system of irrigation was in force. Frequently one finds a large tank near the top of a slope, with a series of tanks at lower levels, so arranged that water could be stored and transmitted to the fields.

After the removal of the capital to Murshidabad, and the decay of Gaur, the Barind must have gradually become depopulated and overgrown with jungle. By the time of the revenue survey much of the northern portion, including the whole of Habibpur thana and most of Bamangola thana, was covered with forest and jungle, though the southern portion was largely under cultivation. Hunter, who based his account on the

Collector's report of 1870, writes, "on the higher ground which gradually slopes away from the rivers to the jungle of the interior, crops of rabi or transplanted winter rice are grown, and some efforts are being made to reclaim the borders of the jungle. But little progress, however, has been made, for the ravages of wild beasts of all kinds cause great devastation, and the population is both scanty and unprogressive. The remainder of this tract of country, down to the borders of the low-lying land along the rivers, is entirely occupied with thorny tree jungle called Katal. There are no large forests, but a continuous spread of jungly swamp, broken in upon by narrow steep nalas, and very thinly inhabited. The whole of this tract is generally known as the Katal, and it extends from the civil station to the north-east and the south-east as far as the borders of Dinajpur."

The attempts at reclamation mentioned in this extract were continued shortly afterwards, when Santals migrated from Bihar and settled in the Barind. They cleared the jungle, terraced the slopes and made the land fit for cultivation of winter rice. Today the whole tract is under cultivation with the exception of parts of the valleys down which flow the Tangan and Purnabhaha rivers. These valleys, or dubas as they are locally known, are two to four miles in width. During the rains they are one unbroken sheet of water until November or December when the water subsides, and cultivation of boro paddy and rabi crops can begin. Cultivation is extending in these valleys but portions are still covered with coarse grass, hijol trees and wild rose bushes.

**5. The Tal.**—To the west of the Mahananda the character of the country is entirely different. In the northern part of the district the land of Kharba police-station is of uniform level and moderate height. It is more thickly populated than the Barind, and the villages are larger and in appearance like the normal Bengal village. Towards the west the land slopes gradually down to what is known as the "Tal," a word meaning literally "lake."

The Tal covers approximately Harishchandrapur and Ratua police-stations between the Mahananda in the north and the Kalindri river in the south. It is a low-lying area, subject to inundation with the rise of the rivers. The water

comes in from the Ganges by the Kalindri in the south and from the Mahananda in the north. The Mahananda often rises rapidly, and failing to find an outlet through the silted-up channels leading from it, overflows the country to its south. The result is that crops on a lower level cannot keep pace with the rise of water and are often flooded out. A scheme was initiated some years ago by the late Mr. Peddie under the Agricultural and Sanitary Improvement Act to regulate the flow of flood water from the Mahananda, by excavating the channels, and putting in sluice gates. Lack of funds however caused the scheme to be abandoned. Now that the Bengal Development Act has been passed, the scheme might be worth reviving.

The Tal is almost entirely under cultivation. In Kharba police-station and the northern part of the Tal, the principal crops are jute and paddy. Mango gardens, which are not to be found in the Barind, now become fairly common, and there are several very large orchards in the khas possession of the Harishchandrapur Zamindars. Further south in Ratua police-station aus paddy and rabi crops are chiefly grown. The country here is mainly open until one comes to the bank of the Kalindri which is fringed with thickly populated villages and mango gardens. The whole area is intersected with khals, which drain the flood water into the Kalindri river and into various beels. The khals dry up during the hot weather, but until then communication is rendered difficult.

There are still patches of uncultivated land, covered by low jungle and coarse grass. The largest of these lies to the north of the Kalindri river in the south-west of Harishchandrapur police station. This area was completely under jungle at the time of the revenue survey of 1848, and there is still a considerable area under grass, or covered with scrub jungle and wild rose bush, somewhat similar to that of the Tangan and Purnabhaba valleys.

**6. The central area.**—South of the lower reaches of the Kalindri lies the most thickly populated part of the district. A belt of densely wooded villages and mango gardens stretches along the southern bank of the Kalindri and the western bank of the Mahananda. In the northern portion of this belt there was formerly a good deal of mulberry cultivation, but the lands are now given over

to mango, and in many places have become overgrown with jungle, which, with the deep ditches between the plots, affords good cover for leopards. Between the main road leading from English Bazar to the ruins of Gaur and the belt of villages along the Mahananda, the country is low-lying and marshy. The soil is dark, consisting chiefly of clay, and producing aman paddy, and on the edges of the beels baro paddy. The ruins of Gaur, of which a description is given in a later section, were formerly covered with jungle and inhabited by wild beasts. The jungle has been almost entirely cleared, and the land brought under cultivation. The level of the land varies considerably, sometimes rising over what may be the remains of buildings, and then sloping away to a silted-up tank or depression. Aus paddy and rabi crops, the principal of which is mustard, are grown in this area.

Further south and west the early diara formation commences. The principal features of this central portion of the district are the mango groves, the mulberry lands and the tanks. Mango gardens are to be found in every village, and are particularly thick along the Kalindri and Mahananda rivers. Viewed from the air, it is hardly possible to get a glimpse of the earth, except where the trees are young and undeveloped. The tendency is towards an increase of mango cultivation, for in a normal year the profits are considerable.

The mulberry is grown chiefly in English Bazar and the contiguous portion of Kaliachak police-station. The fields are artificially raised to a high level by digging deep broad ditches on all four sides and throwing the earth on top. This is done to prevent any possibility of inundation, which is fatal to the growth of the plant. Earth is continually taken from these ditches and serves as manure, with the result that the level of the land gradually rises and is often as much as ten feet above the level of the ditch. This system of cultivation gives a peculiar appearance to the countryside. Seen from above it looks rather like a slab of chocolate, the cubes of which stand out in relief. The tanks in this area are remarkable not only for their number, but in many cases for their size. Particularly in the vicinity of Gaur there are numerous large tanks, some of which are still serviceable, but other silted-up and overgrown with grass and weeds. The biggest of these

must be nearly half a mile in length, and about half as broad. The great majority of them lie north and south, showing that they are of Hindu origin, and belong to the pré-Mogul period.

7. **The diara.**—The diara consists of a strip roughly eight miles in width along the western and southern sides of the district. Its formation is the result of centuries of fluvial action by the Ganges, the old channels of which can still be traced, beginning from the present course of the Bhagirathi river beside Gaur, and extending westwards by successive stages. In the older alluvial area—that is to say, the eastern side of the diara strip—the villages are of average size and fairly thickly populated. Mango gardens are common and some mulberry is grown. The soil is of a light variety, with a sandy appearance. Further west towards the Ganges, the villages thin out, the country becomes open, and the soil sandier. Few trees are to be found here except plum trees, planted for the cultivation of lac. The principal crops in the diara are aus paddy, wheat, barley, oats and mustard. Sugarcane is grown in some areas, but the cultivators say that an insect called “rahi” damages the cuttings, and prevents its cultivation on a large scale.

The island char of Bhutni diara lies in the bed of the Ganges. Its southernmost point is just below Rajmahal, from where it extends northwards for eight miles. Its average width is about 4 miles and its area 32 square miles. Formerly the main stream of the Ganges flowed to the east of this island, but a few years ago it gradually set westward. The main stream now flows under the Rajmahal bank, and the former channel has become a subsidiary branch which is fordable in the hot weather. At that season vast sandy chars are uncovered, from which the main wall of the island rises to a height of twelve to fifteen feet. The char is open and contains few trees at present. There are some small villages and clusters of homesteads, but the area is undeveloped as yet. An old channel of the Ganges runs down the centre of the char, and in this and other depressions winter paddy can be grown. On the higher land, aus paddy and pulses are the principal crops. The soil is sandy and not very fertile on the higher ground, while on the lower chars it generally consists of a thin deposit of silt over the sand in which rabi crops such as kalai or mustard can be grown.

The island is subject to alluvion and diluvion, and the changes caused by the river's action have been the cause of many a civil action.

8. **Beels.**—The beels throughout the district are the direct or indirect result of fluvial action, and are not due to earth subsidence, as is the case in Rangpur and other districts. The direct results of fluvial action may be seen in the Tangan and Purnabhaha valleys, which contain a chain of beels stretching northwards to the border of Dinajpur district. From the appearance of these valleys, it can be surmised that they were originally courses of very much larger rivers than the present streams. The old rivers have left behind them a series of natural depressions which retain the water when it recedes at the beginning of the cold weather from the valleys. Boro paddy is grown round the edges of some of the shallower beels, but many of them are too deep to admit of cultivation. The largest is Beel Ahora in the Tangan valley, covering an area of nearly two square miles.

The same direct river action is found in the diara where the beels are depressions left by the Ganges as it has found successive new courses to the west.

There is also a chain of beels situated in the low-lying marshy tract between the Mahananda river and the main road from English Bazar to Gaur. This has been caused by what may be described as indirect river action. A silt-bearing river tends to build up its banks gradually by depositing silt on them, with the result that the strip along the river bank is often of a higher level than the interior. When this process has been going on for centuries, the effect is that the land lying between two rivers is formed like a shallow basin, and its level remains low unless it is regularly flooded by the rivers and receives a deposit of silt. Now at the period when Gaur flourished, there can be no doubt that a considerable stream of the Ganges flowed southwards along the city's western walls. Consequently the level of the land along this old bank of the river is high; and it is probable that any flooding of the countryside further east was prevented by the ramparts of Gaur, and farther north by the main road, which then ran northwards to Pandua. The Mahananda on the east is a river which brings down some silt during the rains, but not during the rest of the year, and

it rarely overflows its banks. The process of building has therefore gradually persisted along the bank, but the country in the interior has not received any deposit of silt. The result is a shallow low-lying basin containing a series of beels. The largest of these is Beel Bhatia in the north of Bholahat police-station. This vast beel covers an area of over nine square miles. A scheme was started to drain it and regulate the water level, so that the whole area might be brought under paddy, but this had to be abandoned owing to lack of funds. At present boro paddy is grown round the edge of the beel.

**9. Soil.**—The natural division of the district into two halves separated by the Mahananda river, serves to distinguish the two principal varieties of soil. East of the Mahananda, the soil of the Barind is the red soil of old alluvial formation, which is found in the neighbouring districts of Dinajpur and Rajshahi and other Bengal districts. It is composed of stiff clay, containing iron and lime, and becomes extremely hard in the cold weather. Even a heavy shower will not do more than make it slippery on the surface. It produces winter rice and a variety of rabi crops.

West of the Mahananda the soil is a light loam called do-ash. It is a later alluvial formation, and consists of an admixture of clay and sand. On the eastern side the proportion of clay is greater, but the further west one goes towards the Ganges, the greater becomes the proportion of sand. Along the Ganges itself, the chars and other areas which are liable to inundation, are often covered with a thin deposit of silt over the sand, locally known as Chama. The do-ash type of soil is the most fertile in the district, and produces jute, aus paddy and a large variety of rabi crops and vegetables. It is also the most suitable for mango gardens.

A third kind of soil is found in the low-lying areas, beels and valleys. This is a dark loam called matial. In the Tangan and Purnabhaha valleys this soil is also found, but it has a greater admixture of clay. It is fertile and produces chiefly aman or boro paddy, according to the level of the land, and rabi crops.

**10. Flora and fauna.**—Among the fruit-bearing trees, the most common is the mango, for which the district is famous. The orchards are distributed

all over the part of the district west of the Mahananda river, with the exception of a strip along the Ganges. Jack fruit trees are fairly common, and plantain trees are commonly grown but the fruit is not of particularly good quality. The lichi and custard apple are also found but not in any number. Among the trees of economic value the most common is the date-palm. It is grown generally along the sides of roads, or on ails and is tapped during the cold weather for its juice, from which gur is produced. The supari (areca nut) is not so common, and the cocoanut palm, so commonly found in most Bengal districts and so useful to the settlement staff, is conspicuous by its absence. The lack of any saline element in the soil seems to be the reason why the cocoanut palm will not produce any fruit.

Bamboo clumps are commonly found in almost all villages, and amongst other trees mention may be made of the nim and tamarind, and in the diara area of the babul and the boir or plum tree. In the Barind, trees are scanty, especially in the north, where, apart from the village sites, there are only occasional nim, pakur or simul trees and patches of sal wood. In the south, however, there are date palms and tal trees in some numbers.

Malda used to be famous for its big game. Today there is practically none, though as far as small game is concerned the district has still several attractions to offer, which are not to be found in most other districts. Hunter observes, "The ruins of Gaur and Pandua are the favourite haunt not only of tigers, but of every other beast, bird and reptile which frequents the isolated jungles of Bengal. The Katal (Barind) also which is estimated to cover about 150 square miles in this district, particularly that portion between the Tangan and Purnabhaha rivers, is almost entirely given up to wild animals. The jungle is too dense in many cases to admit even the passage of an elephant and consequently the larger beasts of prey breed almost undisturbed." Among the list of big game he mentions tiger, leopard, wolf (rare), ox, rhinoceros (very rare), wild hog, wild buffalo, large swamp deer, hog deer and spotted deer. The description is that of the sportsman's paradise. Nowadays the jungle has been almost entirely cleared, and the construction of railways has cut off most of the large game and confined it to the jungles under the



Himalayas. The only big game now to be found in the district is the leopard, which resides chiefly in the jungles along both banks of the lower reaches of the Kalindri, in the belt of jungle between English Bazar and Muchia on the east of the Mahananda and in the jungles around Gaur. Wild pig exist in the scrub jungle of the Purnabhaha valley, and the uncultivated portions in the south-west, of Harishchandrapur police-station. Deer are practically unknown, though the District Gazetteer includes hog deer in the list of wild animals. There have been stray cases of deer coming into the district, but they are invariably hunted down by the Santals. Nilgai also occasionally come into the district from Purnea.

Among game birds, both Hunter and the District Gazetteer give lists in which some of the birds mentioned are never found, and some so rarely that their inclusion is not justified. Peafowl, which occur in both lists, are unknown. The same is the case with merganser, while the pink-beaked goose which is mentioned in the Gazetteer is extremely rare. The mallard and pink-headed duck have been shot in the district, but they are also extremely rare now, and I have never been fortunate enough to see one.

The following game birds now exist. Among geese, the bar-headed goose is found in some numbers on the chars along the Ganges, which are his feeding grounds in the early morning. The grey-lag also visits the north-west part of the district, but is rarer than the bar-headed. Among duck, the most commonly found is the gadwall and then the pintail. Spot bill are not common. The widgeon rarely comes as far east, and I have only seen a few. Pochard are to be had on every duck beel, the most usual varieties being the common and the white eye. The black-tufted pochard is less common, and I have found it principally in the northern part of the Tangan valley. The red-crested pochard is also not commonly found. The common teal and the gargeny or blue-winged teal are found in large numbers. Of the ducks which are not generally considered fit for the table the shoveller is fairly common, and the ruddy sheldrake or Bramhiny visits the chars of the Ganges and the upper reaches of the Kalindri.

One bird which is omitted by Hunter and the District Gazetteer is the nokta or comb duck, which is found in some

numbers on certain beels. It is a large bird, weighing up to six pounds, and contrary to the general belief, is quite eatable, at any rate in Malda district where it feeds on winter paddy. The male is distinguished from the female by the fleshy knob at the base of the beak.

Snipe are found in the marshy areas which dry up during the cold weather, and often on higher ground near swamps. There are four varieties—the pintail, fantail, the jack snipe and the painted snipe.

Golden plover are common, and great flights of the smaller silver plover can often be seen wheeling over marshy areas. The shamkhol, generally known as the beefsteak bird, is commonly found on beels, as are the stilt, redshank and other waders. Whistling teal and cotton teal abound in the beels and large tanks.

Coming to the land birds, the most outstanding bird is the florican. This is unfortunately very uncommon nowadays, for in the past its beautiful plumage and its rarity have singled it out as the particular object of the sportsman. The female has been protected for a number of years and the male for the last few years. It prefers high grassy country with patches of cultivation, particularly mustard, such as is found near the south of the Purnea border. I have also seen one in the Tangan valley, but it is unusual for floricans to habitate in that type of country. Partridges are found in some numbers in the Tangan and Purnabhaha valleys, and to lesser degree near the Purnea border. There are two varieties—the black and the swamp. Green pigeon and button quail are fairly common, but grey quail less so. Jungle fowl are rather rare, but a few can be found in the jungles along the southern bank of the Kalindri near its junction with the Mahananda, and around the ruins of Gaur.

Among amphibious reptiles, the snub-nosed crocodile is found in large numbers in the Tangan and Purnabhaha rivers and in the beels lying adjacent to them. It also haunts many of the large tanks which are scattered all over the district. It is not comparable in size with the crocodile of the Sundarbans, the average length being not more than nine or ten feet; but its presence is remarkable in tanks which often lie miles from any other water. The gharial, the long-nosed fish-eating crocodile, is found commonly

in the Ganges. The poisonous reptiles found in the district are the cobra and the Russell's viper. Occasional pythons have also been found. During the last few years, the comparatively high price of crocodile skin has resulted in the wholesale slaughter of crocodiles. Various methods are employed for catching and killing them. The Santal method is to locate the hole in the bank of the river or tank by which the crocodile enters his den. This is then fenced in with bamboo stakes and the crocodile is dug out. The Muhammadans fish for him with a hollow bamboo 10 to 15 feet in length, at each end of which is fastened a rope with a baited hook. As soon as the bait is swallowed, and the crocodile hooked, he makes for the bottom and tries to shake it off; but by dragging down one end of the bamboo, the other end is elevated above the surface and shows his position. Eventually he collapses from exhaustion and is hauled in. A third method, generally employed by up-countrymen, is harpooning. As soon as a crocodile is hit, he tends to roll over on his side, and the rope attached to the harpoon begins to entwine him. The more he struggles, the more he becomes enmeshed until he can be dragged to the shore and killed.

**11. The river system.—Ganges.**—The river system consists of the Ganges, with its offshoots the Bhagirathi and the Pagla; and the Mahananda, with its tributaries the Kalindri, the Tangan and the Purnabhaba.

The Ganges flows through Bihar in a mainly eastern or south-eastern direction until it reaches the Rajmahal hills. Here it takes a sweep to the south, and just below the bend, first touches the district. It proceeds south for about 15 miles and then turns south-east again, leaving the district near its junction with the Mahananda. The western side of the district contains the comparatively recent alluvial formation which was left behind as the Ganges gradually shifted its course westwards. As has been mentioned above, it is tolerably certain that when Gaur flourished, a considerable stream flowed past the western side of the city. But it is a matter for speculation whether the area lying between Gaur and the Mahananda is a still earlier alluvial formation of the Ganges. One theory has been advanced that the Ganges originally flowed down a course similar to that of the present Kalindri, and passed what is now, the site of Gaur

on the eastern side. This theory is based on the assumption that the old red alluvium of the Barind probably formed the original line of the river. It might account for the chain of beels stretching down the western bank of the Mahananda, but further north, the old alluvium follows the course of the Mahananda and not the Kalindri. It can be conjectured with certainty, however, that the Ganges originally flowed past the city of Gaur, and during the centuries that followed has gradually moved westwards towards the Rajmahal hills. Ralph Fitch wrote in 1585 of Tanda, which was the capital after Gaur and is situated on the opposite bank of the Bhagirathi: "Tanda standeth from the river Ganges a league, because in times past the river flowing over the banks in time of rains did drowne the country and many villages and so they do remaine. And the old way the river Ganga was wont to run remaneth drie, which is the occasion that the citie doth stand so farre from the water." By the time Rennell's map was prepared between 1764 and 1773, the western tendency must have ceased, for the main stream was then right under Rajmahal. A subsidiary channel branched off at the point where the river commences its sweep to the south and formed an island about 15 miles in length, rejoining the main channel below the island. The position of the Ganges must therefore have been very similar in Rennell's time to what it is today. The same island char known as Bhutni diara exists, though it is rather smaller in size, and the main channel is still under the Rajmahal hills.

During the last few years the tendency has been for the river to continue gradually the westward movement at the expense of Santal Parganas and Murshidabad districts. Consequently the bank is generally steep on the western side, and shelving on the eastern. Alluvion and diluvion are constantly in progress, for the sandy soil offers little resistance to the current, and once the river starts cutting away the bank, it encroaches rapidly. Trees and huts disappear into the flood, and the unfortunate inhabitants remove their belongings hastily to a new site. Small wonder that the Ganges is held in reverential awe, and the boatman, commences his journey across the stream with a cry of "Maharani ki jay".

The continual change in the course of the river has resulted in numerous



changes of jurisdiction, and transfers of khas mahal estates from one district to another. It has been suggested by the Deputy Commissioner of Dumka that it might be simpler to fix the inter-provincial boundary by adopting the limits of certain villages, instead of the main stream. This proposal would necessitate corresponding changes in districts further down stream, if one system is to be followed. It has the disadvantage that administration would be rendered difficult if an officer had to cross the river frequently in order to get at an area within his jurisdiction, but situated on the opposite bank; but it has this advantage that there would be an end to the continual transfers of estates. Owing to the changes in the main channel, an estate is often washed away and reforms on the opposite bank. In this way some estates have been thrown to and fro like a shuttlecock between Malda and Santal Parganas.

The westward tendency of the river is probably now at its furthest point. It seems unlikely that it will encroach further in the direction of the Rajmahal hills. In 1810, Buchanan Hamilton noted that its general set was away from the plains of Malda; and at the time of the revenue survey, Rajmahal was on the river bank. In 1870, however, Rajmahal was deserted by the river which moved eastwards again, and threatened to cut into the Kalindri. What had happened was that the river after rounding the Rajmahal hills, came against the island char of Bhutni diara and followed the eastern channel instead of the western, with the result that considerable erosion took place on the Malda bank. At the moment of writing the main stream follows the western channel, but it is commonly believed in that locality that the river will come down the eastern channel again.

About two miles below Rajmahal, the Ganges threw off a small stream which was originally a channel of its own. This stream, the Bhagirathi, flows eastwards and roughly speaking forms the boundary between Kaliachak and English Bazar police-stations. Near Mahadipur it is joined by the Pagla, another stream which was formerly a branch of the Ganges, and the united streams flow past Kansat into the Mahananda off Nawabganj. Both streams shrink to mere rivulets in the hot weather, and boat traffic is entirely suspended. The

Bhagirathi is at present most insignificant in appearance, but as the original stream of the sacred Ganges, it is regarded with reverence by devout Hindus, and ceremonial bathing is regularly practised at Sadullapur Ghat throughout the year.

**12. Kalindri.** — The Kalindri is shown in Rennell's map simply as an offshoot of the eastern branch of the Ganges, taking off about two miles north-west of Ratua and flowing in a mainly south-eastern direction to its junction with the Mahananda opposite Old Malda.

In Hunter's account, evidently followed by the District Gazetteer, it is stated that the main body of water is brought down from the hills in Sikkim by the Ponar river, which assumes the name Kalindri shortly before its entry into the district. On the other hand Buchanan Hamilton, writing in 1810, considered that the lower portion of the river, that is to say the portion lying in Malda district, was nothing more than a branch of the Ganges. Probably the river became continuous later on, but when he wrote Buchanan Hamilton was undoubtedly right. The Kalindri has always been connected with the Ganges by a navigable channel, down which the flood water of the Ganges passes. When the main channel of the Ganges is under the Rajmahal bank, as at present, the channel to the east of Bhutni diara becomes shallow, and large sandy chars form on that side of the river. Consequently when the level of the Ganges drops at the end of the rainy season, its water is prevented by sand bars from flowing into the mouth of the channel. The Kalindri thus empties itself into the Mahananda, and in the hot weather its bed is nothing more than a series of pools. It seems probable that when Buchanan Hamilton wrote, the position of the Ganges was substantially the same as it is now. When the Collector's report, on which Hunter's account is based, was written in 1870, the Ganges Diara Survey had recently been carried out. At that time the river had deserted the Rajmahal channel and followed the eastern course round Bhutni diara, cutting away the eastern side of the island as it stands to-day. The result must certainly have been that a much larger volume of water came down the Kalindri.

The channel of the Kalindri takes off from the Ganges a few miles above Rajmahal, and the river flows almost due

east as far as Ratua. From there it takes a sharp bend to the south, and then again turns and flows along a winding course in a mainly south-eastern direction, until it falls into the Mahananda opposite Old Malda. In the north it receives as its tributaries the Kalkos, Kankar, Kos and Baromasia, four small streams which drain the tal area after the rainy season, and dry up during the hot weather. The Kalindri has altered its course considerably, the present bed being in places at some distance from the position of the river at the time of the revenue survey. One result of the changes in its course has been the erosion on more than one occasion of the English Bazar-Mathurapur Road. The river has gradually pushed its way further south and rendered successive road diversions necessary. Where erosion is taking place, the bank is high and steep and composed of red clay or sandy soil, while on the opposite bank low shelving accretions have formed. The total length of the river is 53 miles. It is navigable during the rainy season only and fordable in the hot weather.

The cessation of the river's flow in the cold weather, and the presence of the stagnant pools left behind in its bed, undoubtedly affect the health of the villagers who live along its banks. Mosquitoes breed in the pools and bring malaria into the thickly wooded and in some places jungly villages. Proposals have been made to increase the flow of water down the Kalindri by excavating the mouth of the channel up to the main stream of the Ganges. The feasibility of this scheme was examined by Mr. Addams-Williams, who was of opinion that it is not advisable, because it might result in an excess of Ganges flood water being forced into a comparatively narrow channel. This might lead to a serious flood, particularly in the tal area. It might be added that any excavation inside the flood limit of the Ganges is likely to prove fruitless, as it is liable to be levelled out by the quantities of sand and silt which the river brings down.

**13. Mahananda.** — The Mahananda rises in the lower slopes of the Himalayas near Kufseong, and flowing southwards through Purnea district enters Malda district at the extreme north-west corner. It then flows eastwards, approximately along the district boundary as far as the limit of Kharba police-station, where it turns south, and flows more or less straight through

the centre of the district until it falls into the Ganges at Godagari. The entire length of the river within the district is 108 miles. During the last century few changes have taken place in its course or navigability, but between the dates of Rennell's map and the revenue survey a very great change took place. When Rennell's map was prepared the river ran from Swarupganj down what is now the channel known as the Mara Mahananda along the western boundary of Kharba thana, instead of along the eastern boundary, as at present. At that time there were two subsidiary channels leading from the Mahananda into a river shown as the Nagore in Rennell's map. This followed approximately the present course of the river. It is evident, therefore, that the main stream of the Mahananda forsook its original course, and flowed through the subsidiary channels down the bed of the Nagore river. The Nagore is not locally known nowadays.

Buchanan Hamilton noted that boats of 500 maunds could make their way up the river as far as its junction with the Tangan throughout the whole year; but that boats of more than 200 maunds could not go above Malda during the hot weather. The position is very much the same today. The main channel of the river is fairly deep but in places narrow. In the dry season sandy chars are uncovered, and the windings of the main channels make navigation dangerous for steamers, though not for country-boats of considerable size. North of Old Malda the river becomes narrower and shallower, as it is above the junction with the Kalindri, through which the flood water of the Ganges passes and helps to scour out the bed of the Mahananda below.

The Mahananda is not a silt-carrying river, except to some extent, during the rains. Consequently it is not subject to violent changes in its course. Alluvion and diluvion go on, but the process is gradual. The river will sometimes cut into one bank and form a bend, while it builds up a char on the opposite bank, or straighten out a loop which it has previously made. Thus one finds alternately an abrupt steep bank on one side and a shelving bank on the other, the former indicating the direction of the main channel. This tendency to gradual erosion necessitated the construction of an embankment at English Bazar, with revetments just below it. It is doubtful whether the latter are of much efficacy

for they tend to cause eddies and set-backs behind them, which form pockets in the river bed and thus undermine the bank. The present tendency is for the river to erode the bank just above these revetments. The most marked changes have taken place below Gomastapur, where several villages have accreted on one side or the other since the revenue survey.

The Mahananda having its origin in the Himalayas, is subject to rapid rises of level. The melting snow coupled with heavy rain in the hills has been known to cause a rise of as much as ten feet within twenty-four hours. The maximum rise in level is about 30 feet, and the width of the river, which in the cold weather, average about 100 yards below Old Malda, increases to at least a quarter of mile.

**14. Tangan and Purnabhaha.**—The Tangan and Purnabhaha, tributaries of the Mahananda, are very similar streams. They rise in Dinajpur district and flow southwards into Malda district, winding through the wide valleys previously described. Both are narrow streams with muddy and tortuous courses which are navigable throughout the year. The Tangan meanders southwards between Gajole and Bamangola police-stations and then between Old Malda and Habibpur until it falls into the Mahananda at Aiho. The Purnabhaha skirts the eastern boundary of the district along Bamangola and Habibpur police-stations, enters Gomastapur, and turning south-west empties itself into the Mahananda at Makdumpur Ghat, a mile below Rohanpur. During the rainy season both rivers overflow their banks. This is due to the rapid rise of the Mahananda, which banks up and forces back the water of the Tangan and Purnabhaha until it finds an outlet in the lowlying valleys. The flood water combined with the rain water that drains in the valleys from the high land on either side, produced vast expanses of water which submerge the valleys to a great depth.

The Tangan appears to have shifted its course at various periods. Buchanon Hamilton, writing at the beginning of the 19th century, states that the river junction with the Mahananda was at Ahiriganj seven miles below the present junction. The remains of a stone bridge near Raniganj on the western side of the valleys are also considered to indicate that the river has changed its

course to its present position further east. This is not improbable. The stone remains are visible to-day, and there is at that point a cut in the great embankment, which was originally a road from Pandua, running due east across the Tangan valley into Dinajpur district. Assuming that Buchanon Hamilton was correct, the river must have changed its course between 1767 and 1810 and later reverted to its original course, because in Rennel's map, its junction with the Mahananda is shown at "Iyo" which clearly represents the modern village Aiho, standing at the present junction.

**15. Climate.**—The climate of the district is more akin to that of neighbouring Bihar districts than to that of the average Bengal district. The seasons fall into three divisions. The cold weather sets in at the beginning of November, though the night temperature begins to fall in the latter half of October. From December to February the days are pleasantly cool and the nights cold. The night temperature often falls well below 50°, making a fire agreeable after sundown. The prevailing wind is from the north-west. During March the day temperature increases, but the nights remain tolerably cool till the end of the month. The hot weather begins from the end of March. From March until the middle of May, the loo or hot west wind blows, sometimes with great violence, and accompanied by occasional thunderstorms with rain or hail. Throughout this period the heat is intense, but the air being extremely dry the heat does not cause discomfort such as is experienced in a humid atmosphere. From the middle of May until the arrival of the monsoon the wind veers to the east and humidity increases.

The rains generally break towards the end of June, and continue until the end of September, or early October. The rainfall is fairly evenly distributed during July, August, and September, but it is smaller than that of most districts, and there are often unpleasant breaks, when the air becomes hot and moist.

**16. Natural calamities.**—There is a saying that Malda can never starve, it lies between the Barh and the Barind. The meaning is that the difference in physical features between the two halves of the district makes it

unlikely that there will be a simultaneous failure of crops. This is very largely true; for the conditions that adversely affect one side of the district, cause little damage as a rule to the other. The principal calamities are floods and drought: the former affects the western side of the district, the latter the Barind.

Floods are the result of unusually heavy rain in the Himalayas, which, combined with melting snow, cause an abnormal rise in the level of the rivers. The Ganges is responsible for successive floods which have inundated the western side of the district, but the Mahananda only overflows its banks in years of exceptionally high flood. This happened in the autumn of 1871, when the town of English Bazar was flooded. Many cattle were drowned in this flood, but little material damage was done, and the damage to crops was confined to the bhadoi or autumn paddy, and the mulberry. Parts of Kaliachak, Sibganj and Nawabganj were inundated by the Ganges in 1885 and 1906. In 1885, Rs. 11,579 was spent on gratuitous relief, and nearly 7,000 people were provided with work: in 1906, a lakh of rupees was advanced under the Agriculturists' Loans Act. In recent years the same area was flooded in the autumn of 1929. Relief measures were undertaken, but it was not found necessary to start test works. The situation was met by advances for the purchase of seeds, and in the case of the most needy by the distribution of money or rice.

Drought affects principally the Barind. The tract is dependent for its prosperity on a normal and regular rainfall, which will ensure the success of the winter paddy crop. Unless there is sufficient rain at the end of June or during July, it is impossible to plough the hard soil into a suitable condition to receive the seedlings. The level of the tanks also may not rise to a sufficient level to be of any practical use for irrigation. Consequently in a year of drought, much of the higher land has to be left fallow, and when paddy has been transplanted into fields on a lower level it may wither up through lack of rain. In 1873, the rainfall was only 27·26, which is about half the normal, and resulted in the loss of about three-quarters of the winter crop. In the following year the price of rice rose to 9 seers to the rupee, and relief work had to be undertaken. Large quantities of

paddy were stored in the district and distributed either as charitable relief, or in the shape of loans, or wages. Over a lakh of rupees was spent as wages for relief work, and nearly half a lakh was advanced on loan. The distress commenced in April, reached its height in July, and subsided in the beginning of October.

In more recent times the road from Bulbulchandi to Lala, a distance of 20 miles, was raised and improved in 1928 when drought again brought about scarcity in the Barind. The construction of this road cost Rs. 49,224 and was paid for from the money provided by Government for test works.

Among other calamities mention may be made of hailstorms and fires. The storm of 1907 was of exceptional violence. It crossed the Rajmahal hills on April 1st and striking the district just below Manickchak, travelled eastwards as far as Bholahat on a front of two miles. Houses were wrecked, crops laid waste, and mango trees uprooted and stripped of their leaves. Nineteen people are reported to have been killed, chiefly by falling houses, and numbers of others were injured by hailstones.

Minor storms are of frequent occurrence and when they are accompanied by hail, can cause great damage to the mango crop. They generally occur at a time when the trees are in blossom, and when a good outturn depends on fair weather interspersed with light showers of rain. Hail or heavy storms are fatal to the formation of the fruit.

Fires are of frequent occurrence and invariably take place in the earlier part of the hot weather, when the west wind is blowing. Poor people who cannot afford or obtain wood are in the habit of using dry leaves for fuel. These are liable to be carried by a gust of wind against the mat wall of a hut, or on to the thatch of the roof, which at this season is dry as tinder. A fire breaks out, which in a high wind may easily spread to adjacent huts and render a number of people homeless. The Collector maintains a fire relief fund, from which small grants of money or cloth are distributed.

**17. Rainfall and temperature.**—The average rainfall from 1924 to 1933 is 52·71". The wettest month is July in which 12·34" was recorded as the average rainfall between 1930-32. In

December the rainfall was nil, in January it was 0.55", February 0.35", March 0.36", April 0.57", May 3.70", October 3.78" and November 3.40". The wettest months are from June to September, the average rainfall being: June 8.43, July 12.34, August 7.18 and September 9.66. A great deal depends upon the quantity and the regularity of the rainfall. Too much rain adversely affects the low lying areas in the western half of the district: too little produces drought in the eastern half.

Figures showing the average maximum and minimum temperatures have only been recorded in Malda from the middle of June 1932. The following are the figures for 1932:—

June.		July.		August.		September.		October.		November.		December.	
Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.
92.6	77.9	88.7	78.5	90.3	78.5	90.2	79.0	90.0	72.7	82.0	63.6	77.6	54.7

**18. River communications.**—The district is classed as partly riverine. Before the construction of the railway in 1909 the rivers were one of the chief means of communication in the district. The Ganges, Mahananda, Tangan and Purnabhaha are navigable all the year round; and the Kalindri, Pagla and Bhagirathi during the rains and part of the cold weather. The rivers also serve as waterways for the export of a variety of commodities to markets within the district, to other districts direct, or to railway stations and steamer ghats. During the cold weather one sees boats laden with paddy coming down the Tangan and Purnabhaha, and during the mango season numbers of large boats from Dacca and other parts of Eastern Bengal lying opposite English Bazar.

The India General Navigation and Railway Company runs a daily steamer service, except on Mondays, from Godagari to Old Malda, in connection with the Eastern Bengal Railway and the Ganges steamer service. During the hot weather it has to be suspended owing to the narrowness of the main channel in places, and the sandy chars which render navigation unsafe. This service has been recently discontinued. During the rains a steamer service owned by Rai Bahadur Chandra Ketu Narain Singh, runs on alternate days

from English Bazar to Old Malda, and thence via the Kalindri to Rajmahal.

From the touring point of view, the rivers can be of considerable use in getting about the district, particularly during the rains, when other communications are bad. The green boat is however a slow and cumbersome affair, particularly if it has to be towed any distance up stream; and the loss of time involved in such journeys makes it hardly worthwhile to use it to any great extent. Moreover, it requires four boatmen, whose wages combined with the daily charge for the boat come to Rs. 5, so that it is also an expensive form of touring. A motor boat has recently been allotted to the district,

and should prove of service, especially as it is capable of carrying a light tent.

**19. Railways.**—A section of the Godagari-Katihar metre gauge line passes through the district. From the south, it runs northwards as far as Singabad, then westward to Nimasarai, the station for Old Malda, and finally north-west into Purnea district. The length of the line within the district is seventy-five miles. In 1929, the construction of the Chapai-Nawabganj-Abdulpur broad gauge section was completed. Amnura, the southernmost station in the district, was made the junction for the new line. Its length within the district is nine miles. Since its construction it is possible for passengers travelling from Malda to Calcutta to arrive in Calcutta one hour and a half before passengers travelling by the Godagari-Lalgola route. On the other hand, the journey via Ishurdi involves a considerable wait at Amnura junction, while the third class fare is seven annas in excess of that by the other route. For these reasons I believe that many passengers still prefer to travel via Lalgola.

For passengers travelling via Kathihar to and from stations in Dinajpur or Rangpur districts there are adequate connections when the train service is running normally. The recent reduction in the number of trains, however,



involves a tedious wait at Katihar in the small hours of the morning.

**20. Roads.**—During the Muhammadan period the principal roads in the district were as follows: The road running from Pandua via Old Malda to Gaur and the south of the district, and the embanked road from Pandua through the northern portion of Old Malda police-station (where it disappears in places) across the northern limit of Habibpur police-station, where it is well-marked, and so into Dinajpur district. The maximum width of this old road is about 100 yards, and brick remains found at intervals along it, suggest that it may have also served the purpose of a rampart. There is also a "Badshahi Sarak" running northwards through the western side of Harischandrapur police-station into Purnea district. The principal road is the old mail route starting from Baragharia, on the western bank of the Mahananda opposite Nawabganj. This runs mainly westwards as far as Sibganj, then turns northwards and passes through Gaur and English Bazar, crosses the Mahananda at Old Malda, and runs through Gajole to Dinajpur. It is metalled from English Bazar as far as the Sona Masjid, near the 14th mile stone. Its chief branches run from Kansat to Gomastapur and Manakasa; from a point three miles south of English Bazar to Sadullapur and Panchanandapur; and from a point half a mile further south to Kaliachak.

The Kaliachak branch is metalled for the first  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles.

At Gajole the main road is intersected by a road running east and west from Alai on the Mahananda to Bamangola.

Another important road on the western side of the district runs from English Bazar through Amriti, beyond which it branches, one fork, known as the Rajmahal road, leading to Mathurapur and thence to Manikchak; the other crossing the Kalindri and following the river course as far as Ratua, where it turns north-east and runs to Samsi. It is metalled for the first  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles from English Bazar. At Samsi it joins the metalled road which leads from the railway station to Chanchal, and from there unmetalled branches run, one to Swarupganj, and one to Kharba and thence along the Mahananda to Swarupganj.

A third road runs from English Bazar through Bholahat and along the western

bank of the Mahananda as far as Nawabganj.

On the eastern side of the district communications are not so good: indeed over much of the Barind, there are only cart tracks. The principal roads are three. The first runs from Kendua Hat near Aiho through Habibpur and Pakuahat to Lala. From Pakuahat it sends off a branch to Bamangola. The second runs from Nawabganj through Gomastapur, and thence to Rohanpur, where it branches to Parbatipur on the Rajshahi boundary, and meets the third main road. This is the Godagari-Dinajpur-Darjeeling road, which runs along the eastern side of the district, and sends off a branch at Amnura connecting with Nawabganj.

These roads are all under the maintenance of the District Board. Their condition is far from satisfactory, but the income of the District Board is one of the smallest in the province, and no improvement can be expected until more money can be spent. It is to be hoped that the tax on motor vehicles, followed by a cess revaluation may lead to better conditions.

The shortage of funds, however, does not absolve the District Board from the elementary duties of repairing breaches in embanked roads, and keeping bridges in proper order. I have not infrequently had to make a wide detour in order to avoid a small stream running through the embankment of a road, while it is not uncommon to find small bridges, suspended, as it were in mid air, with their ends falling several feet short of the crumbling embankment.

The roads are in their best condition during the cold weather, though even then they could hardly be called good. In the hot weather, the sand in the soil turns unmetalled roads into dust storms when the wind is blowing, and during the rains they become seas of mud, cut up by bullock carts, and impassable to any other kind of traffic.

Motor services run continuously during the cold and hot weather along the following routes: English Bazar to Baragharia; English Bazar to Kaliachak; English Bazar to Ratua; and English Bazar to Mathurapur. There is also a regular service throughout the year in connection with the Eastern Bengal Railway from Samsi station to Chanchal and Kaligram during the dry season; and to Chanchal only during the rains.

Accommodation for touring officers is adequate in parts of the district, but in

others a tent is essential. In the north of the district there are three two-roomed dak bungalows in Ratua police-station at Ratua, Atgaon and Araidanga; and one in Harischandrapur police-station. In Kharba, it is customary for officers to stay in the guest house of the Raja Bahadur of Chanchal. Four miles north of Adina police-station there is a good four-roomed bungalow situated on the Gajole road opposite the great Adina mosque. In the south, there are two-roomed dak bungalows situated at Piasbari on the Gaur road eight miles from English Bazar, at Nawabganj, Kalichak and Sibganj. At Kansat there is a guest house of the Maharaja of Mymensingh.

The Barind is ill-provided with accommodation, as with roads. There are small inspection bungalows at Gajole Pakuahat, Nachole and Amnura. The last two are rather unstable, but the condition of all of them is such that it is inadvisable to occupy them. At Parbatipur near the Rajshahi boundary there is a disgraceful structure, little better than a cowshed.

**21. Towns and markets.**—*English Bazar.*—There are three municipalities in the district, viz.: English Bazar, Nawabganj and Old Malda. The largest of these is English Bazar which was constituted a municipality in 1869. Its population has increased from 7,600 in 1872 to 16,907 in 1931. The old name of the town was Angrezabad or Ingrezabad, the derivation of which is disputed. One theory is that the name points to its early foundation by the English traders of the East India Company, the other that it was a centre of the dying trade, and from that the name was evolved.

By 1681 an English factory was established by traders from Old Malda; where there were factories of the East India Company and the Dutch; and in 1771 a commercial residency was built by George Henschman surrounded by a wall with fortified bastions at each corner. This is the present collectorate; and it is probable that the town gradually grew up round it as the business in silk attracted people to reside there. In old sketch maps of the town there are plots denoted by such names as Murgikhana (fowl run) which are relics of the old factory days.

The modern town contains no feature of particular interest. A number of the houses are built with bricks taken from Gaur, but none of them have claims

to architectural beauty. The streets are mostly narrow and dirty and the air impregnated with smells from the open drains. The municipal administration is characterised by apathy and the usual desire of public bodies in this country to court popularity by not compelling people to pay their taxes regularly and punctually. Consequently the income of the municipality is generally heavily in arrears. The inhabitants show no ambition to rouse themselves beyond a dull mediocrity or to improve the amenities of life. Recently a water-works scheme has been completed, largely through the liberality of the Raja Bahadur of Chanchal who contributed half a lakh to the scheme. One would have expected some enthusiasm or at least gratitude: consequently it was rather surprising to find a section of the town-people, including several of the leading men, opposing the scheme. I mention this as an instance of the entire lack of any sense of civic responsibility among the towns people. If they were offered electric light they would probably refuse, because of the slight additional expenditure and would prefer to continue lighting their streets at distant intervals with miserable flickering oil lamps.

The principal trade in the town is in silk, mangoes, jute and piece-goods.

**22. Nawabganj.**—Nawabganj, situated on the east bank of the Mahananda in the south of the district, is the second largest town. It was created a municipality in 1903. Its population has decreased from 17,016 in 1901 to 15,826 in 1931. Of the three municipalities in the district, the administration of Nawabganj is the most efficient, and there is among some of the leading men of the town a distinct desire to improve conditions and to raise the importance of the town. Nawabganj is a great market for winter rice, which is despatched by cart from all over the Barind to the north and east of the town. Carts even come in from the Barind areas of Dinajpur and Rajshahi. A certain quantity of jute from the southern part of the district—Shibganj, Kaliachak and Nawabganj thanas—is marketed at Nawabganj and there is a considerable export of brass and bell-metal articles, which are locally manufactured.

**23. Old Malda.**—The third municipality is that at Old Malda, four miles up the Mahananda from English Bazar. It is situated on the eastern bank of the

Mahananda opposite its confluence with the Kalindri. Nothing definite is known of its origin, but it is undoubtedly very old. Its importance gradually decreased after the transfer to English Bazar of the East India Company's factory and with the growth of English Bazar. The population is also gradually decreasing and the municipality must now be one of the smallest in Bengal. In 1911, the population was 3,750 and in the census of 1931 it has decreased to 2,779.

The inhabited area is extremely congested and is built on a series of ridges which look as though they must have been piled up with earth from the deep ditches running parallel to them. The houses are mainly built of the small flat bricks found in Gaur: they contain tiny rooms devoid of light and air. The streets are extremely narrow and flanked on either side by open drains. It is not surprising that under these conditions malaria is rife.

The town was declared a municipality in 1869. The municipal administration is characterised by incompetence and a complete lack of energy. Though there are many wealthy mahajans living in the town, the incidence of taxation is very low. The municipality prefers to keep in the good graces of the well-to-do town people by undertaxing them while it levies cart tax on carts which may only come within municipal limits once a year. No latrine tax is levied with the result that the condition of the town is insanitary. Beyond the town itself the municipal area extends northwards for about a mile along the Mahananda, and includes the thriving market of Balia-Nawabganj. The intervening area consists entirely of mango orchards, and is not, properly speaking, land which should be included within municipal limits. The only reason for doing so was evidently to secure the Balia-Nawabganj market, which provides the municipality with almost one-third of its income. In comparison with this income very little is spent on the market itself or on the approaches to it.

The municipal boundaries gave some difficulty at the time of survey, because they were not clearly defined on all sides in the notification. Eventually the principle was adopted of following the notification where it could be clearly defined on the ground; and the limit of municipal taxation where it could not be so defined. Even so it was found that holdings lying within these limits

had not been assessed; while holdings lying outside had wrongly been assessed.

The principal commerce in the town is derived from rice, jute and money lending. Ralli Brothers have an agency here, to which a siding runs from the railway station of Nimasarai.

**24. Melas.**—Several important melas take place on the occasion of Hindu festivals and on the death anniversaries of reputed Muslim saints. The melas provide good business for traders, as many of the people are accustomed to lay in a sufficient stock of clothes, utensils, spices and the like, to last them for six months. Altogether 125 melas are held annually in different parts of the district. Most of them are of local origin, and are held in connection with religious festivals. The attendance varies between 800 and 12,000 and the duration of the melas between one and twenty days.

The most important is the Ramkeli mela which is held at Gaur.

This mela commences on the last day of Jaistha, and commemorates the visit of Sri Gouranga. It lasts for about ten days and is the largest in the district and one of the largest in Bengal. Manufactured articles from the neighbouring western districts as well as local manufactures are sold in large quantities. The attendance is between 20,000 and 30,000 and people come to it from Dinajpur, Rajshahi, Nadia and Murshidabad. The gathering is predominantly Baisnab.

The next in importance is the annual Urs festival at Pandua, which is held in the month of Rajab on the occasion of the death anniversary of the Persian saint Jalaluddin Tabrezi. It is a gathering chiefly of religious devotees who come from all over India and beyond. The estimated attendance is about 8,000 people. The Baish Hazari Wakf Estate spends about Rs. 2,000 in providing for their food and shelter, and on one day provides free food for the entire gathering.

Several melas are also held on the banks of the Ganges and Bhagirathi rivers in connection with bathing ceremonies on certain Hindu festival days. These last for a day or two and are well attended. The principal are those held at Sadullapur and Kansat on the bank of the river Bhagirathi and at Mathurapur and Narayanpur on the bank of the Ganges.



## Chapter II—Trade and Industries.

**25. Trade routes and markets.**—Besides silk, mangoes and lac, the chief exports from the district are paddy, rice, pulses, jute, oilseeds, and to a small extent tobacco.\* The chief imports are salt, kerosine oil, cotton cloths and other piece-goods.

The main trade of the district follows two routes—the railway and the rivers; and it may be said with a fair degree of certainty, that up till the recent construction of the Chapai-Nawabganj-Abdulpur line, the produce from the Barind was transported chiefly by boat and steamer; and that from the remainder of the district chiefly by rail. Information is not available to show what is the position after the opening of the new line, but it is probable that the main export trade in rice and paddy by steamer up the Ganges to Bihar has been largely unaffected, while that of jute and other commodities to other parts of Bengal has been partially captured by the railway.

The principal markets which deal with the river-borne trade are Mehaghat on the Kalindri in thana Harischandrapur; Balia-Nawabganj lying rather more than a mile up the Mahananda from Old Malda; Aiho, at the confluence of the Mahananda and the Tangan; Rohanpur, at the confluence of the Mahananda and the Purnabhaha; and Chapai-Nawabganj on the Mahananda at the extreme south of the district. Mehaghat deals chiefly in paddy, pulses and jute which are exported entirely by boat. Much of the produce goes to Dhuliam in Murshidabad district.

Balia-Nawabganj is a market chiefly for the wholesale purchase of paddy and rice. On the big hat day, which is Wednesday, cartloads of paddy come in from all over the Barind area to the north, within a radius of ten or twelve miles. Several big paddy dealers attend the market, and the annual sale of paddy and rice together amounts to about 35,000 maunds. The ghat at Old Malda is the limit to which steamers can travel up the Mahananda, and it shares the exports with Nimasarai railway station.†

\* Aiho has a daily market, but the main hat meets on Sundays, and is very

similar to that of Balia-Nawabganj. The quantity of rice and paddy sold is little less. The produce comes by bullock-carts from the Barind and by boat down the Tangan river.

The Rohanpur market is one of the biggest in the district and one of the largest centres for the export of rice and paddy. After the paddy has been harvested, hundreds of carts come in on the main hat day, which is a Monday, from distances of twenty or thirty miles, and converge on the market place overnight. The rush is so great that the approaches to the market are often blocked. In addition to the cart traffic, boats laden with paddy come down the Purnabhaha, bringing the produce from the north-eastern corner of the district and from parts of Dinajpur district.

The export of this produce is made partly by steamer and partly by boats of anything up to 500 maunds burden which come through the Ganges and Mahananda from Dacca, Faridpur and from Rajmahal, Purnea and other Bihar districts. The monthly sales of rice and paddy at Rohanpur are not far short of the annual value of sales at Balia-Nawabganj and Aiho. The amount of rice exported is proportionately greater, as there is a rice mill there. Though there is a railway station also at Rohanpur, the bulk of the trade is carried by river.

Chapai-Nawabganj also does a large trade in paddy and rice, which comes in by cart from all over the southern section of the Barind. It has a considerable business in rabi crops, and some jute is brought in from the neighbouring parts of Sibganj thana and the portion of Nawabganj thana lying to the west of the Mahananda. There is also a business in the manufacture of brass and bell-metal utensils, which are exported direct from the town. Much of the paddy is sent by steamer up the Ganges to Bihar.

In addition to these four markets there is a number of smaller but locally important markets in the Barind. At Pakuahat, four miles east of Baman-gola, there is a hat on Tuesday, to which people come in from long distances. There is a large cattle market, and a

†The steamer service has been discontinued since this was written.

considerable trade in mustard seed, which is mostly taken for retail to Aiho. Cloth, earthenware articles, trinkets and the usual necessities of life are also sold.

At Gajole there is a small daily market, but on Thursday there is a big hat somewhat similar to that at Pakuahat. There is a big paddy business and cattle market; and cloth, pottery and other articles are sold.

Another large hat meets at Nachole on Sundays. Rice and pulses are the principal agricultural products. There is also a cattle market; and agricultural implements, brass work and earthenware are sold.

Of the markets where produce is carried chiefly by the railway, by far the most important is the Samsi hat which is held on Thursdays. The principal exports are jute, pulses and paddy and the total export of these commodities is easily the largest of any market in the district. The amount of pulses exported, consisting chiefly of kalai and gram, is remarkable. Gur (molasses) is another product which is largely dealt in; and quantities of fowls and eggs are exported to Calcutta. The dealers make their purchases on hat days and book their consignments by the afternoon train. On the average about one hundred maunds of fowls and eggs are despatched to Calcutta monthly. Samsi is now an important trade centre, and a small town is in process of formation near the railway station. A number of Marwaris have taken up residence there, and are engaged in business and money lending.

Further up the railway line, the principal markets are Tulsihata, Malior and Masaldaha. The commodities sold consist chiefly of paddy, pulses and jute, and the biggest buyers are the Marwaris. The produce is sent for export to Harishchandrapur and Bhaluka Road stations.

Old Malda had formerly a large volume of trade, but with the decline of the town, the trade has also decreased. It is admirably situated for commercial purposes, standing at the confluence of the Kalindri and the Mahananda, and close to Nimasarai railway station. From the station a goods siding runs to

the ghat, not far from the business area of the town. Ralli Brothers have a firm here which deals in a variety of commodities. Some Marwaris also come to Old Malda for the jute season and the local Agarwalas and other dealers have agencies for cigarettes, kerosine oil, washing soda, vegetable products and corrugated iron sheeting.

English Bazar has a daily market in the morning and evening, and a bi-weekly hat on Mondays and Thursdays. Flour, pulses and vegetables are sold in large quantities, and boats laden with cocoanuts and betelnut come from Barisal to trade these commodities for gram and pulses.

Of the other markets in the interior of the district, the most important are Amaniganj, which has always had a large silk business; Kansat, which attracts people from distances of eight or ten miles, Gossainhat and Sadullapur.

Bholahat, which used to have a considerable silk trade and a silk factory, has now a daily market, but its trade has declined.

Besides silk yarn and silk cloth, brass and bell-metal and lac, there are few manufacturing concerns in the district, apart from small industries such as pottery, boat building, basket-weaving and the like, which are common to all districts.

In English Bazar there is a small sugar, brick-dust and flour mill belonging to a Marwari, and an oil mill belonging to an Agarwala. Recently a sugar mill has been started at Panchanandapur under the auspices of the Collector, to encourage the growth and sale of sugarcane. Previously the small amount of sugarcane produced in the district was exported from Nimasarai, Samsi and Harishchandrapur to mills in Purnea district.

**26. Railway exports.**—The following figures, which were kindly supplied by the Eastern Bengal Railway and the India General Navigation and Railway Company, Limited, give the exports, during the year 1930-31, of the principal commodities. Unfortunately the figures for silk and mangoes, carried by the railway, are not available.

Goods carried by the Eastern Bengal Railway in maunds :—

"Malda wares for patterns for Persia." The Dutch and English had factories at

Station.	Paddy.	Rice.	Pulse and gram.	Jute.	Oil seeds.	Sugar.	All goods.
Amnura ..	780	881	42	..	..	..	8,999
Nachole ..	3,545	301	..	..	8	..	6,072
Rohanpur ..	3,349	3,414	152	225	274	..	13,362
Singabad ..	336	113	14	..	..	..	2,316
Muohia ..	1,172	145	25	..	16	..	2,757
Malda* ..	22	527	84	..	302	..	5,038
Malda Out Agency ..	13	41	410	..	188	..	5,920
Nimarasai† ..	1,038	2,313	14,516	43,316	9,268	3,219	103,216
Adina ..	..	..	Figures not available		..	..	
Eklashi ..	222	77	16	..	..	..	2,654
Kumfarganj ..	214	..	13	..	192	..	5,316
Samsi ..	7,671	21,580	51,404	80,745	20,518	49	199,730
Baluka Road ..	455	2,654	6,467	33,312	2,361	..	55,496
Harishchandrapur ..	1,106	5,498	32,346	39,690	3,615	164	88,062
Kumedpur ..	..	..	..	406	..	..	712
Total ..	19,793	37,644	105,489	197,694	36,742	3,432	499,644

\* Railway station and agency for English Bazar.

† Railway station for Old Malda.

The importance of Samsi is evident from the above figures.

**27. Steamer exports.**—Goods carried by the India General Navigation and Railway Company, Limited, in maunds are shown below :—

Old Malda in the latter part of the 17th century. Their relations appear to have been cordial, but they were both engaged in a perpetual struggle against

Paddy.	Rice.	Seeds.	Jute.	Mangoes.	Tobacco.	Silk.
2,249	41,364	22,338	11,790	94	4,885	Nil.

The figures for rice carried by the steamer company are higher than those of all the railway stations together. The greater portion comes from Rohanpur, and indicates the extent of the business carried on there.

**28. Silk.**—From the earliest historical times, Malda has been famous for its silk. It is said that a Malda merchant, Sheikh Bhik, "set sail for Russia in 1557 with three ships laden with silk cloths", and the letters of the English agents at Patna as early as 1620 refer to

the intrigues and rapacity of the local Fouzdar and his officers. Charges were trumped up against the merchants before the Governor at Delhi; their business agents and silk weavers were imprisoned and oppressed; and the ceaseless demand for gratuities is reminiscent of Pooh-Bah. This petty persecution eventually decided the English to remove their factory to the opposite side of the Mahananda, where they were under different jurisdiction. A piece of land was purchased in 1680 from the zamindar in Makdumpur, a mauza situated in what is now English Bazar town. Here the

Company carried out their silk rolling, packing and despatching, thereby avoiding the levy of a tax on merchandise, which was the principal source of contention with the Fouzdar of Malda.

Until 1835, when the factory was closed, the East India Company had a monopoly of the silk industry, but the trade continued to flourish after the factory was closed and exports reached their maximum between 1866 and 1874. At that time there were seven European concerns, including a French establishment belonging to Louis Poyen and Cie of Lyons. It was estimated that these concerns produced 620 maunds of raw silk annually while the local reelers produced 1,500 maunds, the total value being one and a half lakhs. Thereafter the export trade began to decline, owing to the increased demand for tussore and wild silks, and the commercial improvements which were being made in France and Japan. In modern times, there has been a further decline, prices have dropped, and the industry has been in danger of stagnation.

It was to meet this situation that the Sericultural Department was established. It has been working for the last 21 years to revive the industry, by educating the silk rearers in scientific methods, and by providing them with disease-free seed cocoons. The Bengal Co-operative Silk Union, Limited, was also formed and registered in 1927, to promote co-operative societies of mulberry cultivators, silk rearers and weavers and to arrange for the marketing of their products.

The work of the Sericultural Department is valuable and interesting and deserves a detailed account.

Two nurseries are maintained at Piasbari, eight miles south of English Bazar, and at Amriti, five miles west of the town. The former covers 174 bighas and contains thirteen rearing houses, the latter 186 bighas with five houses. The respective areas under mulberry are 60 and 85 bighas.

The procedure in silk rearing is as follows. As soon as the eggs begin to hatch out, they are covered over with young and finely chopped mulberry leaf into which the young silkworms climb. They are then removed to a clean tray, and kept separately from those which hatch out on the following day. It is

essential to group worms of uniform size on each tray for the proper regulation of their diet. They are fed at intervals of 6 hours on chopped leaves during the first 4 to 6 days according to the season; and at the end of that period they lose their appetite completely and become torpid. This is the first moulting stage. During the next 24 hours they shed their skins and enter on the second stage. While moulting is in progress, feeding is stopped completely. When it is over, a cotton net, covered with young leaves, is placed over the silkworms, which crawl through the meshes and begin to feed on the leaves. These are changed at the end of every 24 hours. A net covered with fresh leaves is placed over them, on to which they climb, and the old leaves and litter are removed. After 3 to 5 days, according to the season, the second moult sets in. Thereafter the silkworms take on the colour and form which they preserve until the end of their larval life. They grow rapidly and eat more; and from this stage stems of mulberry plants with leaves on them are spread on the net. Three meals a day, at intervals of 8 hours, are given. The same procedure is followed during the fourth and fifth periods. By the fifth period, the silkworms are eating a very large quantity of mulberry, and care has to be taken to see that a proper selection of leaves is made. The final period lasts from 5 to 7 days. The worms develop a golden and creamy appearance and begin to look round for a corner in which to start spinning.

For this, a bamboo frame, about four feet square, called chandraki, is used. To it are fixed strips of plaited bamboo, an inch or two in depth, in the form of a continuous spiral. The worms are placed on this spiral, and commence to spin themselves into cocoons, a process which occupies two or three days. The cocoons which are required for reproduction are kept on a tray, and those from which the silk is to be reeled, are put out in the sun or dried by steam, in order to kill the chrysalis. This is necessary, because the silk thread is a continuous filament, and if the chrysalis is allowed to turn into a moth, it cuts its way out through the thread, thereby greatly impairing the value of the silk for reeling.

The cocoons which have been retained for reproduction are kept for about a

fortnight, after which the moths cut their way out, the males and females pair off (nature generally seems to provide an equal number) and the females lay their eggs. The average number of eggs is about 300. These hatch out after about a fortnight, and the cycle begins again. The maximum number of days for the whole process is 80, and the minimum 40, according to the season and temperature; so that on the average, six cycles can be completed in a year.

Silkworms are liable to be attacked by various infectious diseases, some of which are hereditary. The result is not only that part of the crop may be destroyed, but the quality of silk produced from diseased worms appreciably deteriorates. *Flacherie* and *grasserie* are rot diseases, which may set in without warning and are generally due to incorrect dieting, bad ventilation, overcrowding, or a sudden change of temperature. *Pebrine* is a parasitic disease, and *muscardine* a mould, or fungus, which lodges on the body and destroys the blood corpuscles.

Another danger is fly pest. The fly attacks the silkworm and lays eggs on its body. These hatch out quickly and the maggot eats into the tissues of the silkworm and feeds on them. In the sericultural nurseries fly pest is guarded against by fitting the doors and windows with fine meshed wire-netting.

The detection of disease in silkworms is one of the most valuable branches of sericultural work. As soon as the female moth begins to lay, the eggs of each moth are covered with a small tin cone, and thus segregated from each other. When the female dies, the body is pounded up, and the blood examined under a microscope. If the moth is free from disease, the blood will appear as a liquid in which a number of minute circular corpuscles are moving about. The eggs are then allowed to hatch out. Any hereditary disease will however be immediately detected. For example if *flacherie* is present, the microscope will reveal a number of long stick-like objects, in addition to the corpuscles. The eggs from that moth have then to be destroyed.

The process of eliminating disease is most valuable, and that its results are appreciated by the silk rearers of the

district is apparent from the fact that in the year 1929-30, the sale of the seed cocoons from the two nurseries amounted to 11,376 kahons—one kahon containing 1,280 cocoons. In addition to this, over 21,000 layings of silkworms were sold, and the total sale-proceeds of cocoons and layings amounted to Rs. 34,680.

It is not sufficient, however, merely to produce and sell disease-free seed. The knowledge of scientific methods has to be carried to the cultivator. With this object the Piasbari nursery has attached to it a sericultural school with a one-year course. Monthly stipends of Rs. 10 are paid to the selected sons of professional silk rearers for training in sericulture, and at present Rs. 250 is paid as a reward to each passed student for the construction of a model rearing house and the conduct of sericulture on scientific principles under the supervision and guidance of departmental officers. Primary sericulture schools attached to both the Piasbari and Amriti nurseries, give elementary instruction in sericulture, with practical demonstrations. A contribution of Rs. 10 a month is made to the Kaliachak Middle English School, and Rs. 5 to the Rostamnagar Upper Primary School for the maintenance of sericultural classes.

Demonstrations and propaganda in villages throughout the silk-producing area play an important part. It is generally found that in cases where disease-free seed has failed to produce satisfactory results, the failure is due to the slackness, ignorance or unhygienic methods of the silk rearers concerned. Ocular demonstrations are therefore necessary to convince them of the value of cleanliness, the immediate removal of diseased silkworms, proper disinfection and sulphur fumigation. The method of demonstration is to select an area covering several villages within a radius of two or three miles, and to carry out the whole process from the emergence of the moth to the spinning of cocoons in a few houses where there has been a series of failures. The houses have first to be improved and disinfected, and wire-netting has to be fixed over the doors and windows. The results of such demonstrations are undoubtedly very useful, as will be seen from the fact that 1,902 yards of wire-netting was sold in 1929-30 by the

demonstration staff, and 732 houses were improved. The increased confidence of the cultivators in scientific methods also encourages them to report epidemics immediately. In the same year 1,682 cases were reported, of which 1,459 were successfully prevented, resulting in a great financial saving to the silk rearers. Muscardine, which used to do great damage to the silk crop, has now been largely eliminated.

A great deal of work on these lines remains to be done before scientific methods can be introduced everywhere. A census of the people engaged in various branches of silk industry was taken in 1925-26 and showed that 18,324 families are occupied in silkworm rearing. The majority reside in Kaliachak thana, and the remainder principally in English Bazar and Bholahat thanas. For a comparatively small demonstration staff, this is a large area and a large population.

Another useful innovation of the Sericultural Department is the introduction of the mulberry tree to supplement the cultivation of the mulberry bush. The mulberry bush is one of the most expensive crops to cultivate because the land requires continual attention and regular manuring. In 1929-30 the Sericultural Department proposed to spend Rs. 35 a bigha on manure alone, because it was found that good manuring results in a very heavy increase in outturn. This is a sum which is beyond the means of the average cultivator, and represents approximately his total cost of cultivation at present. The mulberry tree, however, costs nothing to maintain, and will produce leaves after four years' growth. Already over two thousand trees have been planted in the Piasbari and Amriti nurseries, and when it has been found which type is most suitable to local conditions, its use should be extended as widely as possible among silk rearers, in order to cut down the cost of production and correspondingly increase profits. The total area under mulberry in the district is 15,000 acres, the cost of cultivating which must be at least one and a half lakhs annually.

The outturn from mulberry land depends largely upon good and regular manuring. The poorer classes, who cannot afford manure, use earth cut from the bottom of the deep trenches

which surround the mulberry fields, or silt taken from tanks. The more well-to-do use a mixture of silt and manure. Normally there are five harvests in the year in the months of Agrahayan, Chaitra, Jyaista, Sraban and Bhadra. The yield per acre varies according to the manure used, from 20 to 40 maunds an acre in each harvest, though in the sericulture farms where first class manure is used, the yield has been as much as 80 maunds. Taking an average of 30 maunds, the annual output would be 120 maunds per acre, or 18 lakhs of maunds for the whole district. The average production from one maund of leaves is two seers of cocoons, so that the productive capacity is roughly 36 lakhs of seers. During the economic depression the price of cocoons has fallen to eight annas a seer, giving a total value of 18 lakhs of rupees. In normal times it would be about 25 lakhs.

About one-third of the cocoons produced is exported to other districts and the remaining two-thirds are locally reeled. For every seer of silk yarn, 16 seers of cocoons are required, so that the amount of yarn produced in the district is about 15,000 seers, the value of which is Rs. 10 per seer in times of depression and Rs. 16 in normal times.

The census of 1926-27 also showed that there were then 596 silk weavers in the district who could produce fine silk fabric to the value of Rs. 1.25 lakhs; and 230 weavers of matka, or waste silk, whose products were valued at Rs. 80,000. There were also 12,000 matka spinners whose yarn was valued at one lakh.

The Bengal Co-operative Silk Union, Limited, was formed in 1927 and during the following three years it showed profits of Rs. 3,447, Rs. 3,271, and Rs. 4,718, respectively. Its control is vested in a Board of Directors, consisting of the Collector as Chairman, the Superintendent of Sericulture, and a number of leading gentlemen who reside in English Bazar and the mufassal. The details of management are in the hands of a smaller working committee. The Union has a nominal capital of one lakh, consisting of 1,000 shares of Rs. 100. It is financed by loans from the Provincial Bank loans from the Government, interest on loans granted



to rural societies, and the profit on sales of manufactured goods.

The principal object of the Union is to extend the system of rural co-operative societies and assist them in the production and marketing of their products.

Its origin is due to the efforts of the late Mr. Peddie, who saw that the introduction of a co-operative system was essential to save the producers from falling into the hands of silk merchants, the majority of whom are Marwaris. Silk-reeling and weaving require a comparatively large capital, which it is difficult to obtain from the ordinary money-lender. The reelers and weavers therefore approach the merchants, who advance money to purchase cocoons and yarn on the understanding that the products must be sold to them. When the accounts are made out, the merchants calculate the price of yarn at the minimum rate prevailing during the period of the loan, and take the weight of the yarn at  $82\frac{1}{2}$  tolas per seer instead of 80 tolas. Consequently there is a regular loss to the producer in value and in weight; and by the time he has taken several similar advances, he not infrequently finds himself heavily indebted to the merchant.

The formation of new societies has to be carried out cautiously, because in times of depression there is always the risk that credit may be granted where the security is insufficient. Most silk rearers, like other cultivators, have incurred loans for social and other reasons; and however willing they may be to enter into a contract with the Union, they may not be able to fulfil their obligations. For this reason the number of societies affiliated to the Union has only increased from 31 to 33 between 1928 and 1930.

The rural societies are helped by advances either in cash, implements or materials. The interest on loans is fixed at a general meeting and approved by the Registrar. Co-operative Societies, Bengal, but it cannot exceed  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Loans are limited to a maximum of ten times the value of the share capital paid up by societies. The societies are under regular supervision, and provision is made for the recovery of cash or goods advanced in the event of a default in repayment.

During the years 1928-30 the Union purchased annually silk yarn and cloth to the value of about three quarters of a lakh. This is sold in the most favourable markets through the agency of dalals. The Union has extended its business to almost all the silk districts of Bengal, as well as to important silk centres outside the province—in the United Provinces, Madras and Bombay.

The question of its further development is problematic. Technical knowledge and skill are required to meet the demands of the silk market. Textural effects, colour and design play an important part in the trade, and to be successful on a large scale an organisation has to keep abreast of the changing fashions.

One of the chief obstacles to progress is the poor quality of the silk thread. This is due to the primitive method of hand spinning, a branch of the industry which is outside the scope of the Sericultural Department. The cocoons are put into a large cauldron filled with water, the temperature of which has to be maintained at a constant level between  $140^{\circ}$  and  $150^{\circ}$ . The threads are guided through an eye, and wound by hand onto a drum, made of several wooden slats fixed to a circular frame at either side. The result is that the number of filaments which are being wound together onto the drum is constantly varying, and the thread is consequently uneven in texture. When used on a machine it continually breaks, and is therefore useless as a commercial proposition. The twisting process is equally primitive and laborious.

The question which has to be decided therefore, is whether an attempt should be made to replace these archaic methods by the introduction of reeling and twisting machinery. At present reeling, twisting and weaving are cottage industries which cannot compete with factory methods. The number of persons engaged in these branches of the industry is 16,000 in round figures, and it has to be considered whether the introduction of machinery would deprive them of a livelihood. To this question it is difficult to give a definite answer. It can only be said that probably their income would be adversely affected; but it is also quite possible that there may

remain a fairly regular demand for home spun silk cloth. In any case, hand-reeled silk can be re-reeled by machinery. On the whole the balance of advantage lies in the reorganisation of the industry by introducing factory methods, without which it can never develop beyond a certain point. I am not convinced that such a step would enrich the silk rearers at the expense of the spinners and weavers, and I certainly think that it is essential for the welfare of the industry as a whole.

If factory methods are to be introduced, the output will have to be increased, and the activities of the Sericultural Department considerably extended. With the present staff and resources this would be impossible. The only solution seems to be decentralisation from the nurseries at Piasbari and Amriti; that is to say, the silk producers themselves will have to take a more active part in putting into effect the sericultural training which the nurseries provide. The silk-growing area might be sub-divided into units, each under the charge of a trained man, and equipped with the necessary instruments and material to eliminate diseased stock.

Another reason for the present condition of the silk industry is the competition of artificial silk and foreign silk. The market has been largely captured by Chinese and Japanese silks, which, after paying duty, sell at approximately the same price as Bengal silk, because the industry is heavily subsidised by both countries. (Apparently the boycott of "foreign" cloth did not extend to them.) It has been suggested that the solution lies in the increase of tariffs against foreign silk. Provided that a further foreign subsidy is not forthcoming, this certainly would have the effect of discouraging imports; but the question is whether such a step would have any practical value at the present moment. Bearing in mind that the silk thread now produced in Bengal is useless for commercial purposes, and that Bengal is therefore not in a position to supply even her own markets with manufactured silk goods, there seems to be no object in trying to fight foreign competition. The point is one for the economic experts, but it seems fairly obvious that unless the industry is reorganised, and factory methods introduced, it will never be in a position to

compete for markets; and until it is, there is no point in increasing tariffs against foreign silk.

Meanwhile the Sericultural Department will continue to do valuable work, until ultimately the maximum possible number of rural societies has been formed, and scientific methods have been generally adopted. This will be a considerable advance, but it is impossible to advance further. The department is a losing concern, working at an annual deficit of over one and a half lakhs. This amounts to an indirect subsidy to the silk industry, because, since 1923, the policy has been not to regard it as a commercial department, but as a department for the revival of the silk industry of Bengal. In that it has achieved a considerable measure of success, but the question remains whether it is enough to revive an industry without providing it with the machinery to fight foreign competition, and with an organisation for marketing its products.

29. **Mango.**—The mango is another product for which Malda is famous. It is extensively grown over the whole district, with the exception of the Barind tract where the red alluvium is not suitable for its cultivation, and the diara strip along the Ganges, where the proportion of sand in the soil is excessive. English Bazar is by far the largest and best mango-growing thana. The area covered by mango gardens is 15 square miles, or one-sixth of the total area of the thana. It is followed by thanas Ratua, Sibganj, Kaliachak, Kharba, Malda, Harishchandrapur, Gomaştapur and Bholahat in that order. The most thickly-grown area lies along the banks of the Mahananda and Kalindri rivers. Seen from the air, it presents an unbroken expanse of foliage, with occasional open fields, studded with rows of dots, where new orchards have been planted. The trees are planted on fairly high ground, above the flood level, in soil which is generally a light and rather sandy loam. The fruit has an excellent flavour, and is free from the taste of turpentine so often found in mangoes, of an inferior species. Probably the flavour is due to the soil, which is lacking in saline properties. The cocoanut palm for example, which requires a certain amount of salt in the



*soil, is hardly to be found in the mango-growing part of the district, and the few trees that do exist bear no fruit.*

In the north-west of the district there are several large mango gardens belonging to the Chanchal, Harishchandrapur and Bhaluka zamindars. The gardens, which cover several hundred acres, are held khas, and in a good year bring a large income to their owners. It is rather interesting to note that in the time of the Nizams of Bengal and afterwards, the zamindars were deprived of this source of income. Writing of Nawab Jafar Ali Khan, the author of *Riyaz-us-Salatin* observes that the Nizam employed a Superintendent of mango-supplies who was posted in the Chaklah of Akbarnagar (in the west of Malda district) "and he, counting the mangoes of the khas trees, entered them in the accounts, and showed their collection and disposal; and the watchmen and carriers, levying the expenses of carriage from the zamindars (a rather unkind imposition) sent the sweet and delicious mangoes from Malda, Kotwali, Husainpur, Akbarnagar and other places. And the zamindars had no power to cut down the khas mango trees: on the contrary, the mangoes of all the gardens of the aforesaid Chaklah were attached. And this practice was more rigorously observed in the times of previous Nizams of Bengal. Even at present (1788) when the administration of Bengal is virtually in the hands of the Christian English, and only the nominal Nizamat rests with Nawab Mubarak-ud-daulah, son of Nawab Jafar Ali Khan, in the mango season the Superintendent of the khas mangoes proceeds to Malda on behalf of the aforesaid Nawab Mubarak-ud-daulah, attaches the mangoes of the khas trees, and sends them to the Nawab, and the zamindars do not go near the khas mango trees. But the Superintendent no longer obtains the carriage expenses from the zamindars, nor does he enjoy his former prestige and respect."

The planting of a mango garden requires initially a certain amount of labour, and attention—in fact there is a saying in the district that the nurture of young mango plants is as difficult as that of children. The ground is first ploughed up thoroughly, and sometimes has to be drained by excavating ditches round it. It then has to be fenced to

prevent damage by cattle. Transplantation takes place in July, when the rainfall is at its heaviest, and each plant has to be separately fenced with a circular wall of bamboo matting. The plants are arranged in straight rows at intervals of about 10 yards. During the first year they require regular watering and constant attention, and up till the sixth year, when the young trees begin to bear fruit, the ground has to be regularly weeded or dug up to keep it clear of undergrowth. During the first few years it is possible to grow crops on the same land; but thereafter cultivation has to be stopped, in order that the trees may receive the full benefit of the soil. The initial cost of planting a mango garden is between Rs. 40 and Rs. 50 per acre. The rent for mango gardens, where separate rates prevail, is generally Rs. 6 per acre, which is distinctly higher than the average rate of rent for paddy land.

There are in the main two varieties of mango—the guti or ordinary mango grown from seed, and the kalam, which is grown from graftings. The latter is a superior quality, and fetches a higher price.

The earliest mangoes are the Gopalbhog and Brindaban—a small but fine flavoured fruit. Then come the Lengra, Khirshapati, Kissonbhog and other species. The last but one and largest is the Fazli, and the last is the Aswini which, though rather inferior in flavour, generally commands a higher price, because it is the only available mango at that season.

The mango trade is one of the most important in the district, and one which has an important economic effect on the district. As soon as the trees have blossomed, speculation begins. The price varies according to the class of mango and the effect of the weather on the crop, for hail and heavy rain are most injurious to the formation of the fruit. When the price of a garden is finally fixed, the purchaser may re-sell it at a profit to another dealer, and in this way it may change hands three or four times before the fruit is actually picked. This is done with long bamboo poles to the end of which nets are attached. Almost the entire crop is then exported, chiefly to Calcutta and Eastern Bengal. The railway platforms at this season are crowded with

baskets filled with mangoes, and the Mahananda and Kalindri rivers are lined with boats, some of 500 maunds burthen, waiting to take the crop to Eastern Bengal. Most of the dealers are merchants from East Bengal; and there are also middlemen, who do a brokery business, and receive a commission from the dealers and the owners of gardens.

A good year brings prosperity to a large section of the population. The owners of gardens make a handsome profit when prices are good, because once the trees have started bearing fruit, the cost of maintenance is negligible. The poor people also benefit, because there is an unwritten law that windfalls are the property of the first comer. Every storm or gale brings them out to collect what they can. Even in the middle of the night one sees lanterns flickering in the mango gardens. In this way they manage to lay in a considerable stock whether they own trees or not, and as mangoes comprise half of their diet for about two months in the year, a good season is of no small importance to them. They can also make a small income by selling various preparations such as "amchur," which consists of slices of green mango dried in the sun, and "amsatwa." This is a preparation which is exported in large quantities as far as the Punjab and Madras. It is made from the juice of ripe fruit, which has been pressed, spread out and solidified by the application of a drying agent. The process by which the juice is dried is a trade secret of the people who manufacture amsatwa. Its price varies from 4 annas to Rs. 2-8 a pound. Condiments and pickles of various kinds are also made from green mangoes; and the export of grafts from good trees is another source of income. The price of these varies from 6 annas to a rupee each.

In recent years there have been several failures of the crop, and there seems to be a regular cycle of good and bad years. A bumper crop comes once in four years, and is followed by a bad year, in which there may be only a 2-to-4 anna crop. Then comes a moderate crop, from 6 to 8 annas, followed by a second bad year. The only consolation for these bad years is the fact that the price rises in proportion to the extent of the failure. Thus

in 1928, which was a bumper year, the price was Rs. 2-8 a hundred, and in the following year, when there was a failure, the price rose to Rs. 12-8. During the economic depression, the mango trade has suffered like other concerns, and in 1932 which was another bumper year the price fell as low as Rs. 1-8 or Rs. 2. In that year it was hardly worth while for cultivators living in distant parts to bring their fruit to market, and part of the crop was lost simply because there were no transport facilities.

These fluctuations in outturn and price make it very difficult to give an accurate estimate of the annual value of the mango trade. The District Gazetteer puts the figure at 7½ lakhs of rupees, but at the present time this is probably an under-estimate. An approximate figure can be obtained by taking the average outturn per acre, and the average price which in normal times would prevail in a good year. If the outturn is taken at 3,000 mangoes per acre, and the price at Rs. 2 per hundred, the result is a valuation of Rs. 60 per acre. The total area under mango garden is in round figures 26,500 acres, and the value of the crop would therefore be about sixteen lakhs.

**30. Lac.**—Lac cultivation is an industry which has declined since the war far more rapidly than the silk industry, and is now in danger of total extinction. The lac-growing area is a strip, six or seven miles broad, and about seventy miles long, following the bank of the Ganges. Commencing from Ratua thana in the north, it extends southwards through Manikchak, Kaliachak, Shibganj and Nawabganj thanas, down to the junction of the Mahananda with the Ganges. The soil in this diaphanous tract contains a large proportion of sand, and produces great numbers of plum and babul trees. The pakur, peepul and dumur trees are also suitable for lac production, but in Malda its cultivation is confined entirely to the plum tree.

The word is derived from "lakh" meaning a hundred thousand, and refers to the thousands of lac insects which swarm over the trees. The product itself is a resinous incrustation secreted by the lac insect (*laccipir lacca*). The method of cultivation is simple, and

consists of infecting the plum tree at certain seasons with brood lac. There are two crops—the *Kartiki* and *Baisakhi*. For the former the trees are selected in the latter part of February : for the latter they are generally pruned in the second half of April, but in some places trees pruned in February are used, as they put out larger shoots.

There are two methods of infection. The cultivator can either remove the branches when they are well-covered with the lac insects, allowing a number to remain for the self-infection of the next crop; or he may select the branches that are covered with the best crop, remove them, and cut them into pieces about fifteen inches long. These are tied in bundles to the main branches of other trees and allowed to remain there for about a fortnight. During this period the trees become covered with lac insects, and the bundles are removed and scraped, unless they are required for further infection. When the crop is ready the resinous substance is scraped off the branches and collected for the first refining process. This is carried out by melting the lac and passing it through melting bags. The bag is held at either end and twisted in opposite directions, so that the molten lac is squeezed out, and the impurities remain.

It is not known when the lac industry originated in the district. From the absence of any mention of it in Hunter's Statistical Account, it may be presumed to be later than 1875; but it was certainly in existence before the war, and it was during this period that the industry leaped into prominence. During the boom years that followed the war, lac sold for as much as Rs. 80 a maund or ten times the present price. It is estimated that the annual value of the crop at that period was as much as Rs. 32 lakhs, as against the present value of Rs. 1 lakh. The price of lac-growing land has decreased proportionately. Land which used to sell during the boom years at Rs. 50 or Rs. 60 has dropped to Rs. 2 or Rs. 3.

There is no market for lac in the district. The crude lac, or stick lac, is sold mostly at Kotalpukur, Pakur and Barharwa in the Santal Parganas; and, on a small scale in Murshidabad district, where it is further refined and sent to Calcutta for foreign export.

The present condition of the industry is due to two factors—adulteration, resulting from the crude form of production (and sometimes deliberately carried out); and the competition of synthetic products. The commonest form of deliberate adulteration is to mix sand, ashes, or even sugar with the grain lac in the melting bag, thereby increasing the weight of the product. Adulteration also occurs when the melting bags are made of coarse drill, because the texture is not sufficiently close to prevent impurities from passing through the cloth along with the molten lac. Crude packing and refining tend further to produce an article which is unreliable in quality; and this, coupled with the great fluctuation in prices, has increased the demand for synthetic resins at the expense of natural lac.

Of the various industries which consume shellac, the most important is the gramophone record industry, which absorbs roughly half the output. Of the remainder, about one-third is taken by the spirit varnish and electric paint trades. The balance is divided among a number of industries, such as sealing wax manufacture, leather and rubber finishing, photographic work, tinfoil finish, and a number of others. With the exception of gramophone records, synthetic resins have made a great advance in all other trades. A manufacturer, confronted with a choice between a raw article of unreliable quality, and a manufactured article of guaranteed purity and reasonably stable price, will naturally select the latter. Indeed, the lac industry would be in a worse position than it is to-day, were it not for the present low prices. If prices are forced up again, there will be a still further demand for synthetic products, and they may successfully invade the gramophone record industry. Natural lac might then share the fate of indigo.

It is evident therefore that if the industry is to survive, it will have to be organised. Under present conditions it cannot hope to compete with the scientific research and commercial propaganda of synthetic products. In the first place the output is most uncertain. Unless it is known what are the requirements of the manufacturing concerns and what is the capability of the lac-growing area, it is not possible to adjust supply and demand. A more controlled output might result in a more controlled price.

Secondly, the crude methods of production will have to be improved. So long as adulteration continues, the industry can never hope to compete with synthetic products. It must be able to guarantee an article of absolute purity. Lastly, there is no liaison between the industry and the manufacturing concerns. The cultivator sells his product in the market, the purchaser refines it, it is sent to Calcutta to an agent, and may pass through several hands before it reaches the manufacturer. Nobody in the district has any idea what the manufacturer wants, or how much he wants: there is no organisation for finding out. Some trades require a shellac that is entirely free from any ingredient of wax; some, principally the polish manufacturers, require a larger proportion, others a smaller proportion. What is needed therefore is an organised natural lac industry which will keep in close touch with the various lac consuming concerns, and study their requirements. If the industry continues in its present haphazard uncontrolled state, only some turn of good fortune can save it ultimately from extinction. It might be mentioned that the Gramophone Company at Dum Dum uses shellac to which a natural resin called copal is mixed in certain proportions. The supplies of natural lac are obtained chiefly from Manbhum and Ranchi districts, and at the moment of writing the price is double what it was at the end of 1933. With organisation, there is no reason why the lac producers of Malda should not compete in the same market.

### Chapter III—The employment of the land.

**31. Statistics.**—The area surveyed during the district settlement operations is 1,586 square miles, of which statistics have been prepared for 1,462 square miles. The remaining water area of 124 square miles is accounted for by the Mahananda, Ganges, Kalindri and other rivers, and by the beels which do not dry up sufficiently to admit of any cultivation.

The district operations excluded an area of 401 square miles, surveyed in 1916-18 by the Rajshahi diara party. This area consists of a strip along the eastern bank of the Ganges 80 miles long and on an average 5 miles wide.

It was surveyed in connection with the Ganges diara resumption which was taken up along with the Rajshahi district operations. The statistical figures for this survey are now rather out of date; but as there is no detailed final report on the Malda diara strip, it has been considered advisable to include them in order that complete figures for the district may be available. They have, however, been separately shown. In the Rajshahi party's figures the water area consists almost entirely of the Ganges. According to the usual practice the district boundary has been taken as the central line of the navigable channel, thereby including roughly half of the river bed in Malda district.

The figures for the district operations include the island char of Bhutni diara, which was transferred from the Santal parganas during the second year of the settlement.

**32. Culturable and unculturable area.**—Figures showing the culturable and unculturable percentages are not available at the moment of writing for Murshidabad district; and Dinajpur has only recently been taken up. Of the other districts adjoining Malda, the Santal parganas would not give a fair comparison, so that for purposes for comparison only the figures of Rajshahi and Purnea districts have been appended :—

District.	Percentage of area cultivated to total land area.	Percentage of area culturable, but not cultivated, to total land area.	Percentage of area unculturable to total land area.	Percentage of area cultivated to total culturable area.
1	2	3	4	5
Malda ..	73.3	16.4	10.3	82
Rajshahi ..	74	12	14	86
Purnea ..	61	30	9	67

Cultivation has increased considerably during the last 40 years owing to the influx of a large number of Santals and Muhammadans from the other side of the Ganges. Large uncultivated areas in the Tangan and Purnabhaba

valleys and in the Tal area have been brought under cultivation. The figures show that there is still room for a further expansion of cultivation.

**33. Distribution by thanas.**—The following table gives the statistics, by thanas, for cultivated, culturable and unculturable land :—

Name of thana.	Area cultivated.	Area culturable but not cultivated.	Area unculturable.	Percentage of cultivated to total culturable.	Total areas in square miles excluding water.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Square miles.	Square miles.	Square miles.		
Harisichandrapur	113·69	17·84	8·17	86	139·70
Kharba ..	109·82	17·19	7·64	87	134·65
Gajole ..	140·87	33·53	8·26	80	182·66
Bamangola ..	54·54	6·51	3·31	89	64·36
Habibpur ..	96·89	38·37	7·78	72	143·04
Malda ..	55·74	17·88	5·05	76	78·67
English Bazar ..	68·38	14·11	7·20	83	89·69
Bhola Hat ..	30·08	5·10	2·83	86	38·01
Gomostapur ..	81·12	25·89	5·54	76	112·55
Nachole ..	81·23	16·65	5·00	83	102·88
Kaliachak ..	53·48	8·24	4·89	87	66·61
Ratua ..	86·48	18·21	13·40	83	118·09
Manikchak ..	28·59	8·10	1·49	79	38·18
Sibganj ..	78·95	17·23	4·90	82	101·08
Nawabganj ..	40·88	7·43	2·72	85	51·03
Rajshahi Diara area	232·46	50·02	101·71	82	384·19
Total ..	1,353·20	302·30	189·89	82	1,845·39

These figures are in no way remarkable and may with one or two exceptions be regarded as fairly normal. Perhaps the two most noteworthy features are the rather high district figure for cultivable but uncultivated land and the rather low percentage of cultivation in the Barind area—particularly in the case of thanas Habibpur, Old Malda and Gomastapur. The fact that 16·4 per cent. of the land area is capable of cultivation, but lies fallow, indicates that the pressure on the land is still far below the level obtaining in southern and eastern Bengal. This is particularly so in the more sparsely inhabited areas, where land quickly goes out of cultivation and becomes overgrown with high grass. In the Barind the great valleys of the Tangan and Purnabhaba rivers are primarily responsible for the percentage of the uncultivated area. Although cultivation has extended considerably, there are still wide tracts covered with coarse grass, hijal trees and wild rose bushes. On the other hand, the area of unculturable land is comparatively small except in Ratua thana. Here the low lying Tal area is constantly liable to inundations which leave behind waterlogged stretches and deposits of weed. These cannot be classified as beels. They are rather shallow, saucer-like depressions which eventually dry up, but too late to allow of cultivation. The large unculturable area in the Rajshahi diara strip consists of sandy tracts along the Ganges.

These general conclusions are corroborated by the detailed figures for fallow land of various classes, set forth in Appendix II. \*The principal Barind area, consisting of thanas Gajole, Habibpur, Old Malda, Gomastapur and Nachole, comprises just over one-third of the land area of the district, but contains rather more than one-half of both current and old fallow. This is a large proportion, when it is considered that the area under homesteads, trees and bamboo is very much smaller there than in the rest of the district.

**34. Dofasali area.**—Malda is fortunate in the possession of a fairly large twice-cropped area. In this respect it presents a great contrast to the average paddy-growing districts in South Bengal not only in its higher percentage but in the great variety of crops grown. In the following table the areas for each thana are given in acres. It

will be noticed that thanas Harishchandrapur and Kharba in the north-west, and Ratua, Manikchak and Sibganj on the western side of the district comprise by far the largest twice-cropped areas. Towards the centre of the district the percentage is less; and in the Barind it is comparatively very small. The total twice-cropped area is 369 square miles representing 27·3 per cent. of the net cropped area :—

Thana.	Dofasali area in acres.	Percentage to net cropped area.
1	2	3
Harishchandrapur ..	31,698·11	43·6
Kharba ..	22,657·76	32·4
Gajole ..	8,638·05	9·6
Bamangola ..	425·75	1·2
Habibpur ..	4,490·91	7·2
Malda ..	4,254·51	11·9
English Bazar ..	12,806·68	29·3
Bholahat ..	2,034·89	10·6
Gomastapur ..	6,627·63	12·7
Nachole ..	1,469·08	2·8
Kaliachak .. {	8,072·09	23·6
	23,748·57*	39·6
Ratua .. {	27,326·06	49·4
	31,090·79*	66·6
Manikchak .. {	11,289·53	61·7
	Included in Ratua.*	
Sibganj .. {	21,407·38	42·4
	10,465·39*	35·6
Nawabganj .. {	4,751·22	18·3
	2,893·98*	22·9
Total ..	236,148·38	27·3

\* Lines marked with an asterisk contains figures of Rajshahi diara area.

**35. Paddy land.**—Paddy is the main crop of the district. Out of a total area under cultivation of 1,353 square miles, 960 square miles, or 71 per cent., is under paddy. Of the three varieties of paddy—aus, aman and boro—the largest area is under aman; a lesser but very considerable area is under aus; and a small area under boro. The following statements give a summary of the figures for the district in

square miles, followed by the figures for each thana in acres:—

large beels. Ratua thana has the largest acreage of all. Here the higher

Total cultivated area.	Area under aus.	Percentage to column 1.	Area under aman.	Percentage to column 1.	Area under boro.	Percentage to column 1.	Total area under paddy.	Percentage to column 1.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Sq. miles.	Sq. miles.		Sq. miles.		Sq. miles.		Sq. miles.	
1,353	340	25·1	579·5	42·8	40·5	3·0	960	71

Thana.	Net cropped area.	Area under aus.	Percentage of column 1 if exceeding 1 per cent.	Area under aman.	Percentage of column 1 if exceeding 1 per cent.	Area under boro.	Percentage of column 1 if exceeding 1 per cent.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Acres.	Acres.		Acres.		Acres.	
Harishchandrapur ..	72,761·86	14,886·15	20	45,450·42	62	563·86	..
Kharba ..	70,283·32	13,890·70	20	44,029·94	62	1,735·81	2
Gajole ..	90,156·52	8,380·01	9	67,449·60	75	1,734·67	2
Bamangola ..	34,904·02	4,189·83	12	28,009·63	80	248·09	..
Habibpur ..	62,009·46	5,800·29	9	39,941·93	64	4,135·43	7
Old Makda ..	35,674·26	7,081·53	20	14,866·88	42	4,872·72	14
English Bazar ..	43,763·77	12,459·25	28	3,245·41	7	904·71	2
Bholahat ..	19,248·01	2,603·17	14	8,621·76	45	3,265·66	17
Gomastapur ..	51,917·09	7,763·31	15	31,323·37	60	5,124·87	10
Nachole ..	51,915·50	1,958·52	4	45,833·31	88	367·28	..
Kaliachak ..	34,230·12	6,833·01	20	55·57	..	363·39	..
"	60,029·62*	32,900·70	55	18·11	..	162·81	..
Ratua ..	55,347·80	24,740·24	45	10,713·10	19	874·76	..
"	46,711·26*	27,519·19	59	13·84	..	66·77	..
Manikchak ..	18,294·61	7,726·98	42	·61	..	37·46	..
	Included in Ratua.*						
Sibganj ..	50,528·63	18,715·42	37	11,130·61	22	541·13	..
"	29,415·04*	11,399·89	39	633·06	2	109·53	..
Nagabganj ..	26,166·33	3,629·45	14	17,702·39	68	550·47	2
"	12,621·17*	5,213·74	41	1,820·59	14	49·39	..

\* Lines marked with an asterisk contain figures of the Rajshahi diara area.

The distribution of aus paddy is very similar to that of the dofasali area, namely in the north-west and west of the district. In the north-west, thanas Harishchandrapur and Kharba each contain a fairly large acreage of aus, mainly towards the north. The southern portion of Harishchandrapur is lower in level and shelves away into the Tal area: that of Kharba contains several

lands along the west of the Mahananda and along the north and east of the Kalindri are very fertile, while in the Tal area, owing to the annual floods during the monsoon, aus is grown much more widely than aman. In the west of the district thanas Sibganj, Manikchak and Kaliachak are large aus-producing areas, and in the centre, English Bazar. In the Barind little



aus is grown as the soil is not suitable. The aus-growing area shown in Gajole, Old Malda and Gomastapur thanas consists mainly of the strip bordering the Mahananda. Further east in the undulating country, there is practically none. Thus Nachole thana, which has a very small river frontage, shows only 4 per cent. The position is exactly the reverse in the case of aman paddy. The figures for the Barind show a large preponderance over the rest of the district. In the undulating country, apart from a little mustard and other rabi crops aman is the only crop grown. In the rest of the district the most noteworthy feature is the extremely small acreage of aman in the central and western portions. In English Bazar thana the level of the land is rather high for the most part, and not suited to the cultivation of winter rice. Moreover, rather more than a quarter of the cultivated area is under mango orchard and mulberry. The eastern side of Kaliachak thana is also mainly devoted to mulberry and mango cultivation. As one goes further west into the diara strip the danger of inundation from the Ganges increases, and the soil becomes lighter owing to the higher proportion of sand. It is therefore better suited to aus, barley, wheat and rabi crops. This accounts for the very small acreage of winter rice.

Boro paddy is grown throughout the district round the edges of beels as the water subsides. The highest figures are returned by Gomastapur, Malda and Habibpur thanas, where the network of beels, left behind by the annual floods in the Tangan and Purnabhaba valleys, provides favourable conditions. In Bholahat thana, the acreage is mainly due to the belt of boro cultivation which runs round the edge of the vast Bhatia beel.

**36. Other principal crops.**—In addition to paddy, a large area is employed in the cultivation of various fodder crops. This is due primarily to the natural forces which make it impossible to grow winter rice in parts of the district; and consequently, as might be expected, the areas liable to inundation in the Tal and the west of the district are those which produce most rabi crops.

Of these the most widely grown is Kalai, of which there are two main varieties—mash kalai and kurti kalai. Mustard is another spring crop which

is generally grown all over the district, but principally in the Tal and the north-west of the district. The figures classified under "oil seeds" also include a crop locally known as Guji or Sorguji, which I have not come across in any other district. The plants grow to a height of between two and three feet, and in appearance resemble closely a rather small sunflower. The seeds are used for the adulteration of mustard oil. Towards the end of the cold weather the spectacle of field after field of Guji and mustard is very pleasant to the eye, the orange and lemon colour of the two crops blending into a harmonious whole.

Of the other pulses which are widely grown the principal are gram, matar, khesari and to a smaller extent masuri.

Barley is extensively grown in the same area that produces the major portion of the rabi crops, and wheat to a lesser extent.

Jute covers a comparatively small area and is not a very successful crop. About two-thirds of the crop comes from Kharba and Harishchandrapur thanas; the remainder is cultivated rather sporadically down the western side of the district. The plants do not reach an average height of more than 7 or 8 feet, and the quality is very inferior to that of Eastern Bengal jute. The crop is often straggling and weedy, and the outturn in maunds or bales per acre is considerably lower than that of good jute districts.

The following figures show the area under crops which cover more than 10,000 acres. They include figures for the diara area :—

Crop.	Acreage.
Fodder crop (principally kalai) ...	83,099
Mustard and rape ...	87,199
Pulses (matar, khesari, etc.) ...	101,480
Barley ...	43,615
Gram ...	35,100
Jute ...	33,307
Wheat ...	18,607

**37. Possible extension of crops.**—Of the crops not included in the list, there are several which merit attention for the reason that they are capable of being more widely produced and securing a larger profit to the cultivators. The most obvious case is that of sugarcane,



which, in Malda district, is conspicuous by its absence. The total acreage for the whole district is only 1,594 acres, most of which is included in two thanas Kaliachak and Sibganj. The cultivators here say that the plants are damaged by an insect, called *ruhi*, but I do not think that this can be the case everywhere. The Agricultural Department has tried to increase the acreage, and during the concluding stages of settlement a sugar factory was opened at Panchanandanpur, in the khas mahal estate, to encourage more extensive cultivation and help the tenants to market their sugarcane. Sugarcane has also been successfully tried at Onail, a village about two miles from Habibpur. If good results can be obtained here there is no reason why equal success should not be obtained in other parts of the Barind. The chief difficulty in this area will be to get the people to grow the crop: at present they know nothing of the methods of its cultivation.

Maize is another crop which is capable of further extension. The acreage according to milan khasra figures is only 8,434 acres. Its cultivation could be largely increased in the Barind, where it would serve as a useful stand-by in times of scarcity.

Tobacco is not grown on any large scale, but is confined to the high ground near homesteads. The species generally grown is "bilati" which is divided locally into two classes, "ghar suka" and "baher suka," according as it is dried inside the huts or outside. The former is generally used for chewing and the latter for smoking. Tobacco cultivation received a strong impetus when the prices leaped up some years ago; but at the time of the settlement operations it had fallen as low as Rs. 6 a maund. Its extension is possible, but is likely to depend largely on the market price. Unless prices rise, it is likely to remain a crop cultivated largely for local consumption rather than for export.

Linseed is a crop, which is not grown on a large scale, but which with marketing facilities can be profitable. It is cultivated chiefly in Harishchandrapur and in the clayish soil on both sides of the Tangan valley. The area under linseed is 5,006 acres, and is capable of considerable extension in the Tal area, and the north-west. It is a hardy plant which will grow in land which has only been roughly ploughed up once or twice.

**38. Vegetables.**—The vegetables most commonly grown over the district are brinjals, chillies, patals, ucchas, onions, radishes and cucumbers. Gourds of different species, of which the lau is most generally found, are grown on the roofs of houses. Potatoes are also grown, and a small quantity of cabbages and cauliflowers which are sold in the principal markets such as English Bazar and Old Malda.

Of these vegetables, the potato is cultivated on a very small scale. The figure for the whole district is only 1,243 acres, and the produce from this small area is invariably taken for sale in local hats and is not consumed by the producers. The restricted cultivation of a tuber which appears so frequently on European tables (of those who do not subscribe to the belief that it conduces to adipose tissue) must always appear rather strange to western minds. The potato is neither difficult nor expensive to cultivate, and it gives a high yield. There can be no doubt whatever that in areas like the Barind it would act as a most useful supplementary diet in the event of the failure or partial failure of the winter rice crop. At a conservative estimate, the yield would be 30 maunds per acre; so that even one higha would be capable of producing 400 seers, sufficient to allow of the daily consumption of two pounds throughout the year. Ignorance and conservatism are the reasons for the failure of cultivators in the less fertile parts of the district to increase their resources by such obvious means.

**39. Trees and fruits.**—The Barind is conspicuous by the absence of trees. Isolated simul, pakur, peepul and nim trees are common, but the only trees of any economic value are the date-palms which grow sporadically over the eastern side of the district, and the tal tree, which is found in some quantity in the south of the Barind. Bamboos and plaintain trees are grown but not to any extent.

In the rest of the district the most heavily wooded areas are English Bazar and Kaliachak thanas and the banks of the Mahananda and Kalindri rivers. The most common tree is the date-palm, which is tapped for its juice for the manufacture of sugar. The supari or areca-nut is grown mainly close to homesteads, but it is not to be found to the same extent as in many other districts.

Similarly bamboos, though commonly grown, form a comparatively small proportion of the wooded area. The babul tree is found generally, but principally, in the west of the district towards the Ganges diara area. Its tough wood is particularly suitable for the manufacture of ploughs. The cocoanut-palm is rarely to be seen.

Of the fruit-bearing trees, the principal is the mango. Mango cultivation has such an important bearing on the economic life of the district that an account of the methods of cultivation and the business in the fruit has been separately given in the previous chapter.

Of the other fruit-bearing trees, the plaintain is commonly grown round homesteads. Its fruit is of a rather inferior quality and often of the "flowery" type; but it seems to have a regular sale in local hats. Jack fruit trees are also extensively grown and the fruit commands a ready sale. The average price is 5 or 6 annas for a good size fruit. To the European palate it appears rather coarse and highly flavoured. The lichi, on the other hand, like the mango, produces a fruit of most excellent flavour. Another tree which is commonly found over the district is the Borie. This produces a small plum, which turns yellow as it ripens, and is then picked by the cultivators. Other fruit-bearing trees are the guava, tamarind, custard apple, bél and jam.

**40. Agriculture.—Paddy cultivation.**—The methods of paddy cultivation are so familiar that they require only the briefest description.

For aus cultivation the fields are ploughed up and harrowed five or six times during February and March, when the early showers have moistened the soil. The seed, about 24 seers per acre, is shown broadcast in the early part of April and the ground is again ploughed and harrowed. Ordinarily there is one weeding. The crop is harvested in September and the average outturn may be taken at 12 maunds per acre.

Aman paddy falls into two classes—the species which is transplanted, known as haimantik, and that which is broadcast, known as aghani. Haimantik paddy is sown in a seedling bed, generally after the showers in May. The quantity of seed required is 20 seers per acre. The fields which are to receive the paddy are ploughed up, normally five times throughout June, and, when the rains

have set in, the ails are repaired to hold as much water as possible and the transplantation commences. Weeding is not strictly necessary. The crop is harvested in late November or in December.

The normal outturn is 18 maunds per acre, but in the Barind it is difficult to give any accurate figure because the outturn varies considerably, as does the value of land, according to the level. The valleys lying between the undulations are naturally the most productive, as plenty of rain water accumulates, and they are the least likely to suffer from the effects of drought. The lowest level is locally known as kandar, and is capable of producing 20 maunds in specially good localities, and on an average 18 maunds per acre.

The slopes, which are known as "arkandar," are liable to get a less adequate supply of water and are accordingly less valuable. Their outturn would be 14 or 15 maunds per acre. The highest land is the least valuable, and is often affected by drought which, if it does not ruin the crop, leaves it stunted. The average outturn in the danga, or high land, cannot be taken at more than 10 maunds per acre.

There is a general belief that the soil of the Barind is deteriorating. The origin of this belief is not however ascertainable, and there is no apparent reason why the soil should deteriorate there more than elsewhere. It might be more correct to say that the outturn of paddy has decreased, but that is a very different proposition. As previously mentioned prosperity in the Barind depends primarily on a regular rainfall, and in this respect it has been singularly unfortunate during the last decade. Another reason to which I believe the decreased outturn may be ascribed, is the transference of land into the hands of money-lenders and other non-agriculturists. This point has been discussed more fully elsewhere, but so far as its effect upon agriculture is concerned, it is evident that it is likely to lead to a decrease in production. Let us suppose that a tenant has three holdings. He falls into debt, and mortgages one of them, which is eventually sold up. The mahajan takes possession, and according to the general custom allows the tenant to continue on the land as an adhiar. The tenant bears all expenses of cultivation and receives one-half of the produce as his share. Obviously he

is not going to take so much trouble over manuring and properly preparing his adhi land, as he does over the other two holdings. It may be true that he will penalise himself by decreasing his own share of the produce, but he has not the same interest in the adhi land. Consequently adhi cultivation is carried out either in a rather superficial manner, or in a hurry after the tenant has finished the cultivation of his own lands. There is therefore ground for believing that the increase in the transference of occupancy rights to non-agriculturists proportionately decreases the output of the soil.

For the cultivation of aghani or broadcast paddy, the method of preparing the land is the same, with the exception that ails are not necessary to retain the water. In the north-west of the district the paddy-growing land is classified according to the species of paddy grown. Thus, land sown with transplanted paddy is known as "ropa" from the word meaning to plant, and that sown broadcast is called "meda."

The seed for boro paddy is sown in October in soft clayish soil generally situated near the edge of a beel. When the seedlings are nearly a foot high they are transplanted into a similar, but rather larger, plot. Meanwhile the land which is to receive them is ploughed three or four times, and churned up with the water covering it. In January the seedlings are finally transplanted, and the crop is harvested towards the end of April or in May. The yield is higher than that of any other kind of paddy, but the grain is coarser. The average outturn is 24 maunds per acre.

**41. Irrigation.**—Reference has been made to the large number of tanks which are scattered all over the Barind and which, from their level and position, clearly indicate in many cases, the existence of an irrigation system during an earlier civilisation. These tanks play an important part to-day in the irrigation of paddy land, and in a year of short rainfall they may, if there be sufficient water in them, save the aman crop over a very considerable area. The arkandar land on the slopes of undulations stands naturally in the greatest need of irrigation. The lowest land only requires irrigation in times of drought, while the bhita lands around homesteads are irrigated from ponds and the sources of drinking water.

Curiously enough more attention is paid to the latter two classes of land. The slopes are often neglected, although it is easier to irrigate them.

There are two methods of irrigation, which are locally known as "sechan" and "melan." Sechan consists of raising the water, when the land to be irrigated is on a higher level than the water of the tank. For this a "jant" is employed, consisting of a hollowed out tree trunk fastened to bamboo posts which are embedded in the tank. The water is raised, and sluiced down a narrow channel into the first field. When this field has received its full capacity, a cut is made in the ail, and the water is allowed to flow into the next field. The process is continued until all the fields have been irrigated within a convenient radius of the tank.

Melan is the reverse case, when the level of the water is higher than that of the land to be irrigated. A narrow cut is made in the bank of the tank, generally at one corner, through which the water runs until a sufficient supply has been obtained. The channel is then filled in with enough earth to stop the flow. As might be expected, sechan is the form of irrigation in general use during the earlier summer months, and melan when the rains have set in and the tanks are full of water.

There is no hard and fast system of irrigation with strictly defined rights, and no case of a dispute over irrigation rights was brought to our notice. The general custom is for tenants to take water each year from the same tank, over the same fields of their neighbours to their own land; but the custom has not crystallised to the same extent as in districts like Burdwan. Consequently a less elaborate form was devised for recording irrigation rights. It simply showed the source of supply with its locally known name, if any; the plot number of the fields which are irrigated from it; and the method of irrigation, whether sechan, melan, or both. Where irrigation channels were of sufficient width to be separately plotted, they were shown on the map; otherwise the line of outflow was indicated by an arrow.

There is a tendency towards the gradual diminution of the water-supply from these tanks in the Barind. Some of them have silted up, and there is no one in the locality with the initiative or

energy to have them re-excavated. The banks of others have been encroached upon and ploughed up by tenants. The landlords following a rather short-sighted policy, have settled the banks in order to increase their rent-rolls by a few rupees. In some cases the beds of tanks have been settled as well. Where the banks are brought under cultivation the inevitable result is that they become flattened out. The wiser policy would be to build them up in order to store as much water as possible. The settlement of jalkar rights in tanks is another misguided policy which is likely to lead to conflict between the lessees and the tenants of neighbouring lands which are irrigated from the tanks so leased. Not only that, but it is an encroachment on the irrigation right of easement.

Mr. Adams-Williams considered that it would be a practical proposition to develop an irrigation scheme for the Barind, by using the Mahananda as the source of water-supply, and running pipe lines from centres located along the river bank. On the other hand, any such scheme would be extremely expensive, and for that reason there is no object in putting it forward at present as a practical suggestion. It has been the disheartening experience of Collectors in Malda that scheme after scheme prepared under the Agricultural and Sanitary Improvement Act—some of them of great practical value—have had to be abandoned, simply because it was found impossible to raise sufficient contributions from the landlords and tenants to put them into execution. Government was expected, as usual, to provide the entire sum required, and the method of recovery from the tenants benefited, was conveniently shelved.

**42. Embankments.**—In addition to the irrigation tanks, there is a number of private embankments for irrigation purposes, which indicate that a few of the landlords and jotedars are alive to the necessity of a regular water-supply.

Between mauzas Kotalpur and Adampur, and between mauzas Khochakandar and Gopalnagar, there are two fair sized embankments. The former is about one-third of a mile in length, and serves the dual purpose of storing water in winter and summer and keeping out flood water, during the rains. The latter, about a quarter of a mile, in length, forms a reservoir from which

water is taken for irrigation, and which is stocked with fish. There are also two large embankments, purely for irrigation purposes, near the boundary between Dolachhola and Patharmandal and the boundary between Saidpur and Pathar Amarpur. Both these embankments are about half a mile in length, and ten to twelve feet in height. These four embankments are in Habibpur thana.

In Malda thana there are several important embankments. The largest is the old Badshahi Sarak running eastwards into Dinajpur to which reference has been made elsewhere. Over part of its length between mauzas Basudebpur and Berakhawani it is known as the Ranju bund. At this point it stores a large quantity of rain water which accumulates in the low lying area to the north. This water is the source of irrigation for the boro crop which is grown to the south of the embankment. It is maintained by the patnidar, who realises subscriptions from the tenants. Between Jatradanga and Kaluari, there is a narrow winding embankment about a mile in length, which serves to irrigate an area of about 400 acres; and in Halna an embankment half a mile long and 10 feet high which supplies an area of about 100 acres.

The most important embankments in Malda police-station are those in Jalkar Bithan and in Koar, a couple of miles to the north. These regulate the supply of water to the main boro-growing area of Malda thana, covering an area of about 2,500 acres. When the northern embankment is opened and the southern one closed, the water from the Tangan river is allowed to rush in, but cannot escape to the south, so that the intervening tract is well covered with water. When transplantation commences, less water is required; the southern embankment is opened, and the surplus water runs back into the Tangan. As the soil begins to dry up the northern embankment is again opened, and this process is continued at intervals until the crop is harvested. The annual cost of maintaining these embankments is between Rs. 200 and Rs. 300 and is realised from the tenants by the patnidar. The construction of two sluice gates, one in either bund, was the subject of one of the schemes under Act VI of 1920 (Agricultural and Sanitary Improvement Act). The estimated cost was Rs. 22,000

which would work out at about Rs. 8 per acre of the area benefited. The scheme has not yet been put into execution. The irrigation of this area is, of course, exceptional. The normal method consists of raising water to a slightly higher level with a "jant" and conducting the water down narrow channels to the boro fields.

## Chapter IV—The People.

### 43. Census figures and distribution.

—Since the first census of 1872 the population of the district has shown a regular increase, with the exception of the decade 1911-21, when there was a small decrease. The figures are given in the following table:—

Thana.	Census of 1872.		Census of 1881.		Census of 1891.	
	Population.		Population.	Increase or decrease.	Population.	Increase or decrease.
English Bazar .. ..	85,702		85,045	— 0·77	96,463	+ 13·5
Malda .. ..	50,563		50,894	+ ·65	58,866	+ 15·2
Gargaribi (Ratua) .. ..	65,548		80,024	+ 22·1	107,849	+ 33·0
Kharba .. ..	92,011		103,051	+ 12·0	112,095	+ 8·5
Gajole .. ..	55,316		54,317	— 1·8	63,798	+ 17·5
Kaliachak .. ..	119,375		115,692	— 3·1	129,655	+ 12·0
Gomastapur .. ..	48,999		52,810	+ 7·8	56,576	+ 7·0
Shibganj .. ..	105,717		102,162	— 3·3	114,998	+ 12·5
Nawabganj .. ..	53,195		66,453	+ 24·9	74,620	+ 12·03
Total .. ..	676,426		710,448	+ 5·0	814,919	+ 14·4

Thana.	Census of 1901.		Census of 1911.		Census of 1921.		Census of 1931.	
	Population.	Increase or decrease.	Population.	Increase or decrease.	Population.	Increase or decrease.	Population.	Increase or decrease.
Tulsihatta (Harishchandrapur)	48,134	+ ·3	57,205	+ 19·90	71,845	+ 25·0	82,596	+ 15·0
Kharba .. ..	70,810	+ 10·4	82,399	+ 16·37	80,510	— 2·3	83,504	+ 3·8
Gajole .. ..	79,776	+ 25·0	96,763	+ 21·05	65,773	} + 2·6	67,023	+ 1·9
Bamangola .. ..	Included in Gajole.				30,872		30,511	— 1·2
Old Malda .. ..	72,348	+ 22·09	84,222	+ 16·41	32,707	} — 4·9	30,584	— 6·5
Habibpur .. ..	Included in Old Malda.				47,414		48,969	+ 3·3
English Bazar .. ..	90,449	— 6·2	94,617	+ 4·61	92,909	} — 14·5	99,651	+ 10·7
Bholahat .. ..	Included in English Bazar.				17,900		22,842	+ 27·0
Ratua .. ..	68,742	+ 7·8	135,093	+ 22·16	81,073	} — 4·2	85,795	+ 5·8
Manikchak .. ..	43,955	— ·3	Included in Ratua.		55,237		55,268	+ 0·1
Kaliachak .. ..	148,901	+ 14·3	164,801	+ 11·20	157,828	4·2	164,574	+ 4·3
Shibganj .. ..	127,906	+ 11·2	150,371	+ 15·79	147,288	— 2·1	123,922	— 18·9
Gomastapur .. ..	60,316	+ 6·6	67,414	+ 11·77	65,865	— 2·3	51,347	— 22·0
Nawabganj .. ..	73,393	— 1·6	71,274	— 0·34	64,919	} + 1·7	107,506	+ 65·6
Nachole .. ..	Included in Nawabganj.				24,699		29,586	+ 19·8
Total .. ..	884,030	+ 48·5	1,004,159	+ 13·88	1,012,409	— 1·3	1,053,766	+ 4·1

The figures have been given thana by thana, although the statistical results are apt to be misleading. There have been adjustments of thana boundaries, which make some figures appear inaccurate, and in some cases the census figures for thana areas are open to doubt. The most remarkable instance is Gajole thana. The census figure for 1931 gives the area as 105 square miles, and the density of population as 638 persons per square mile; whereas the settlement figure, excluding river area, is 183 square miles giving a density of 366 per square mile. Evidently the 1931 census figure for the thana area is incorrect. Probably it is unsafe to attempt detailed deductions from the figures, but they serve to indicate what have been the principal movements of the population since 1872, and which areas have been most affected.

The most striking feature of the earlier period is the rapid increase in the western side of the district, represented by Ratua, Kaliachak and Sibganj; and in the Barind on the east, represented by Malda, Gajole, Gomastapur and Nawabganj. This was due in the former case to immigration, chiefly of Muhammadans from Murshidabad district; and in the latter to the influx of Santals into the Barind from the Santal Parganas. The movement seems to have started about 1880. In the following decade nearly twenty thousand Santals, and sixteen thousand Muhammadans from Murshidabad had taken up land in the district. The Santals were attracted by the jungle, which at that time covered much of the Barind, and by the low rates of rent which were offered to them for clearing it. In the next decade the colonisation of the Barind reached its height. There was a tremendous influx of Santals and their population was returned in 1901 as fifty-two thousand, compared with twenty-one thousand at the previous census. The following decade saw a further increase of over fourteen thousand, but thereafter the movement died away, and the Santal population has remained more or less constant, immigration being balanced by emigration to the Barind of Dinajpur and Rajshahi, and even to the Nepal Terai. The Muhammadan inflow continued steadily up till the 1911 census. The Ganges had been moving westward and southward at the expense of Murshidabad, and the alluvial formations on the Malda side attracted large

number of settlers who gradually spread inland.

The general decrease shown by the 1921 census was due to malaria, which broke out in epidemic form during several years, and was particularly severe in the central part of the district.

During more recent times the only thana which has shown a consistently large increase is Harishchandrapur. Here also there was a considerable area under jungle. It has been brought under cultivation partly by Muhammadans from Murshidabad and partly by immigrants from Bihar. In the census of 1931, the only remarkable variation was in the south-east corner of the district, where Nawabganj and Nachole showed a considerable increase. It is difficult to ascribe a reason for this sudden development, but it may be due in part to the construction of the new railway line from Nawabganj to Abdulpur. Nawabganj has always been a large exporting centre, and it is not unlikely that the facilities for transport have developed trade in that area. That would also account for the increase of 25 per cent. in the population of the town.

The two main divisions of the population are Hindus and Muhammadans. In the first census of 1872 the Hindus were in the majority: in that of 1931 they are in a minority. The comparative figures are:—

	1872.		1931.
	Per cent.		Per cent.
Hindus ..	356,298 = 52.7	444,406 =	42.2
Muhammadans ..	310,890 = 46.0	571,943 =	54.3
Others ..	9,238 = 1.3	37,417 =	3.5

The large increase in the Muhammadan community is due primarily to the immigration from Murshidabad district, but also to a higher birth rate. The increase under the head "Others" is due to the colonisation of the Barind by Santals and a few thousand Oraons. It may be noted, however, that in the last census rather more than half the Santal population was returned as Hindu. The Santal and Oraon population, both Hindu and tribal, forms almost 7.5 per cent. of the total population.

The Hindu and Muhammadan population was fairly evenly distributed in



1872, but the various waves of immigration have resulted in a large preponderance of either community in certain areas. Thus on the western side of the district, the Muhammadans are in a large majority with the exception of Manikchak thana. In thanas Sibganj and Kaliachak particularly they outnumber the Hindus by more than two to one. In the north-west they are also in a majority, though not to such a marked degree. In the Barind, the reverse is the case, especially in the northern half. Thanas Habibpur and Gajole are Santal strongholds, and here their preponderance over Muhammadans is very marked. Further south, the Santals and Hindus have a majority in Nachole; but in thanas Gomastapur and Nawabganj, there is thickly populated strip along the eastern bank of the Mahanada, where the population is very largely Muhammadan. The more sparsely populated areas in the undulating country further east are inhabited by the Santals.

**44. Castes.**—The following table includes those Hindu castes, Muhammadan social groups, and aboriginal tribes which number more than a half per cent. of the total population:—

*Hindus.*

Baisnab	...	6,646
Bind	...	10,960
Brahmin	...	10,090
Goala	...	14,325
Hari	...	6,530
Kalu Teli	...	8,078
Kamar	...	9,483
Kurmi	...	6,777
Mahishya	...	9,706
Napit	...	7,536
Pali	...	6,153
Rajbangshi	...	42,009
Sadgope	...	12,281
Santal	...	38,309
Tanti	...	16,043
Tiyar	...	10,314

*Muhammadans.*

Mumin Jolah—

“Sheikh Momin”	...	6,971
Sayyad	...	2,049
Others	...	562,923

*Aboriginals.*

Santals	...	32,879
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Among the various subdivisions of the Hindu community the most outstanding feature is the very small proportion of higher caste Hindus. Brahmins number rather over ten thousand, a small number, though higher than that of a few other districts. Kayesthas and Baidyas, on the other hand, number 3,822 and 671, respectively. With the exception of Darjeeling and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, these are easily the lowest figures of any district in Bengal. The lower classes are remarkable for their diversity and for the large number of semi-aboriginal tribes which have their origin in Bihar. The largest class numerically is the Rajbangshi community, residing mainly in the Barind, and numbering forty-two thousand. Then come the Santals, who have been returned as Hindus, thirty-eight thousand in number, residing almost entirely in the Barind. Tantis, sixteen thousand, Goalas and Nagars fourteen thousand each, Binds and Tiyars, ten thousand each, come next; followed by a long list of castes, some of which are not found in any number in other districts.

Among the aboriginal classes, or classes which are of aboriginal origin, the Santals number thirty-two thousand. Turas over four thousand, Koras and Oraons about three thousand, followed by Mundas and others.

**45. Aristocratic families.**—There are few aristocratic families which reside in the district. The better known zamindars such as the Maharaja of Mymensingh, the Maharaja of Lalgola and Srijut Shanti Sekhareswar Ray are non-resident. The proprietor of the largest estate within the district, the Raja Bahadur of Chanchal, has not resided at Chanchal for many years.

Of the resident families, there are several whose history goes back many centuries, but of which little reliable information of any historical value is forthcoming.

The Harishchandrapur Zamindar, Babu Ram Kinkar Ray, is descended from an old and influential family, which is said to have taken up its residence at Ekbarpur at the time of the Mahratta invasion. The first zamindar of whom there is any account was Dina Nath Roy. His eldest son was childless, and adopted Kali Prasad Ray, the son of a younger brother. Kali Prasad was zamindar at the time of the permanent settlement. Ram Kinkar Babu's estate



is known as the Bara Taraf. The Chota Taraf is the property of Babu Mohini Mohan Misra, who comes from another old and aristocratic family.

In English Bazar the most influential family is that of Rai Saheb Jadunandan Chowdhury and his cousin Babu Asutosh Chowdhury. This family is said to have come originally from Benares at the time when Tanda was the capital of Bengal, in the middle of the 16th century. Eventually they settled down in English Bazar, where they prospered greatly from their silk and banking business. They acted as the "banyan" of the East India Company, and their commercial activities extended as far as Patna and Mirzapur. In the first half of the 19th century they began to acquire zamindari property by purchase, and have gradually increased their estates. To-day the family is the wealthiest in the district, and plays a prominent part in public life.

The only other influential Hindu families are those of the Bulbulchandi and Singabad zamindars, Babu Rajendra Narayan Ray and Babu Bhairabendra Narayan Ray. The families come from a Bhuihari Brahmin stock, and are distantly related among themselves and to the Maharaja of Lalgola. Their origin is aristocratic.

Among Muhammadans there are several old families, the most influential of which are the Begum Sahiba, Zamindar of Rohanpur, and Khan Bahadur Abul Hayat Khan Chaudhuri, Zamindar of Kotwali.

The first ancestor of the Rohanpur family, of whom there is any historical knowledge, was Nawab Fazle Mowla Khan, who was descended from a vizier of one of the Emperors at Delhi. He emigrated to Murshidabad where he married into the family of the Nawab of Murshidabad. He was the great grandfather of the present Begum Sahiba, who, being herself unmarried, has adopted the two sons of her late sister.

The Kotwali Zamindar is descended from an old Pathan family, which emigrated into Bengal several centuries ago. There is no authentic early history, save that the estates were granted to the ancestor of the present Zamindar as a reward for his military

services. The Khan Bahadur received his title recently for his loyal services during the civil disobedience movement.

Mention may also be made of the Khan Zamindars of Nurpur, another old Pathan family. Their property has been considerably reduced, but their bearing and local influence indicate their aristocratic origin.

**46. Middle classes.**—The middle classes form a very small percentage of the population, though in the towns their proportion is naturally higher. English Bazar contains the largest number of middle class gentry. Under the category of the learned professions come the lawyers, doctors and teachers. Service-holders include officers and clerks engaged in the public offices, or in zamindari and business employ. Merchants and traders, including a number of Marwaris, are engaged chiefly in the silk and mango business; and the money-lenders comprise merchants, well-to-do agriculturists and landlords. The professional classes and service-holders are generally better educated and have more advanced ideas of comfort and social intercourse. The other classes are interested primarily in money-making. They have a more restricted outlook and their manner of living is inferior.

The town population of Nawabganj is very similar to that of English Bazar, though on a rather smaller scale. There is a civil court, which affords an income to the legal profession; and a considerable volume of trade in paddy, jute, brass and bell-metal.

In Old Malda, the middle classes consist almost entirely of money-lenders, traders and homeopathic doctors. The Agarwalas are the most influential class and the trade consists chiefly in paddy and broking.

The Barind contains a few middle class families, consisting of petty landlords, jotedars, money-lenders and gomostas in zamindari offices. The last class have in some cases succeeded in acquiring considerable areas of land, generally by unscrupulous methods.

In the north of the district, the village, or almost town, of Kaligram contains a colony of middle class people,

who are engaged chiefly in money-lending. At Malatipur, in the same area, there are some wealthy money-lenders.

In the west of the district, there is a large community of Maithili Brahmins, who reside mainly along the Kalindri river, chiefly in Ratua thana. This is another class who gave a great deal of political trouble.

The Lalas and Chatries are the other classes who reside in this area. The former are occupied chiefly in zamindari service. The latter are chiefly money-lenders who are said to have come originally from Jaipur.

In the south of the district the middle classes consist chiefly of small landlords, influential jotedars, traders, and the inevitable money-lenders.

**47. Santals.**—Of the agricultural classes, the most numerous among non-Muhammadans are the Santals. They are divided into four sects—the Christians, the Satyam Sibam, the Kheroars and the Santals proper who retain all the aboriginal customs.

The Christians are comparatively few in number, and are the converts of Protestant and Catholic missionaries, who have been working in the district for the last two decades. The Roman Catholic mission has a centre near Rohanpur and several small churches in villages in the Barind. It must be recorded to the credit of the missionaries that they were the first to introduce any form of education among the Santals. Owing to their efforts several small schools were established, and they do what they can to protect their converts against oppression from landlords and money-lenders when this occurs.

The Satyam Sibam sect originated about twelve years ago. It was founded by a Brahmin pleader from Dinajpur named Kasiswar Chakrabartty, whose object, apart from the fees which he received, appears to have been to claim the Santals for the Hindu community, rather on the lines of the Arya Samaj. He made a deep impression, and numbers of Santals adopted Hinduism. They gave up eating pigs, fowls and other forbidden food. This to the orthodox Hindu mind might appear highly commendable; but from the

economic point of view it is the reverse. The possession of a number of pigs and fowls in times of distress is a considerable asset to the Santals. In marriage and social customs this sect has nothing to distinguish it from ordinary Santals, and their moral and material condition has not been affected by their conversion. The slogan "Satyam Sibam Sundaram" is one used by the Brahmos but it is not clear why it was adopted by the reformer. Left to themselves, the Santals are naturally very much more truthful than most of their neighbours.

The Kheroars are followers of a preacher from Bihar who visits the Barind at intervals of about a year, or sends one of his disciples. They are generally rather fairer in colour than the ordinary Santal, and do not take any flesh, or drink toddy or pachwai. In other respects there is no appreciable difference between them and the ordinary Santals.

The Santals proper are divided into twelve castes—Murmu, Kisku, Hemrom, Hasda, Soren, Mardi, Tudu, Besra, Baske, Chore, Bedea and Paurea. Their legend is that the first two human beings who were created were Pilchu Haram and Pilchi Budhi. They had seven sons and seven daughters. The sons were given the first seven names of the castes mentioned above, and married the seven daughters. Seven castes thus arose, and later five others were added, though it is not known how. It is interesting to note that each caste is exogamous, and a Murmu, for example, cannot marry the daughter of a Murmu.

The Santal community invariably build their houses in a group together. This is known as the Santalpara, and is always at some distance from the Rajbangshi group of houses, which is called the Bangalpara. The houses are well constructed, with solid walls of clay. They are kept scrupulously clean, and the Santals are very fond of growing hibiscus shrubs in front of them, the red flowers of which are worn by the women in their hair on festive occasions.

The social system is under the direction of village headmen, called Majhis. Their houses are identifiable by a mound

of earth outside it, in the centre of which is fixed a wooden post, known as the Manjithan. On ceremonial occasions, the post is painted with vermilion in places, and sacrifices are offered to the spirits of departed chieftains. Each Majhi also keeps a hut, generally unfenced, for village meetings. His office is normally hereditary, but if the successor of a Majhi is reduced to straitened circumstances, or incurs the displeasure of his co-villagers, he is replaced by another. The ordinary duties of the Majhi are the control over his people and their punishment by fines or other means for breaches of social customs. When there are disputes between different villages, the Majhis of three or five villages sit together as a tribunal. When a family leaves the village in a year of scarcity to make a living elsewhere, their immovable property remains in the custody of the Majhi.

The social unity among Santals is remarkable. Inter-marriage with any non-Santal is strictly forbidden; and the disregard of a Majhi's commands, or the commission of a serious social offence, brings the whole Santal community down upon the offender. On a market day the branch of a tree is held up and this attracts the entire Santal community present at the market. The incident is then briefly related, and all are directed to be present on a given day. On the day fixed the whole community appears, and when judgment has been passed on the offender, his house is ransacked and defiled, and a branch is planted in it as a sign that he has been ex-communicated. Until he has paid the penalty, and the ban has been lifted, nobody dares to have anything to do with him.

In matters which are regarded as tribal secrets, there is a masonic reticence among Santals through which it is impossible to break. I made repeated efforts, but without success, to find out the name of the plant from which poison for arrowheads is extracted; but everyone professed ignorance.

Santal customs are interesting. The first ceremony observed is the Nasta, which takes place on the third or fifth day after birth. The men are shaved and bathed at noon, and when they have assembled the father names the child in their presence. The first is named after his grandfather and the first daughter after the grandmother. After the child has been named, the midwife goes round

the assembly, sprinkling a solution of flour and water on the breasts of all present and repeating the name of the child. Rice which has been boiled with the dust of nim leaves is then served to the guests, after being offered first to the Hafram or deceased ancestors.

The next ceremony is the Sekhi, which is the name for the branding marks on the wrists of all Santal men. The branding is done with a piece of burning rag, when the child is five or six years old. The girls are not branded, but are tattooed on the breast and on one of the arms. After marriage the other arm is tattooed, but if a woman loses a child before the second arm has been tattooed, it remains as it is. The idea is that in such cases the child would not be able to recognise the mother in the after life.

There are several systems of marriage. The negotiation may be carried out through a Ghatak or match-maker; but this is an imitation of Bengali society and not a tribal custom. It is however less costly as the dowry is smaller. Generally marriages are arranged by mutual selection, or the young man carries off the girl, and takes her to live with him. In such cases the bride's father approaches the Majhi of the bridegroom's village and demands a dowry. If this is paid, and the girl is willing to stay with the young man, the marriage is concluded; otherwise a penalty is realised from him and the girl returns to her father's house without any social stigma.

Divorce is adjudicated by the village Majhis. If they decide that there should be a divorce, the termination of the marriage is indicated by the tearing across of a leaf or "bitlaha." The co-respondent is required to pay double the wife's dowry to the husband as compensation.

The Santals cremate or bury their dead according to their convenience. There is no hard and fast rule in the matter, but they prefer cremation when fuel is available. Great respect is shown to the dead and almost the whole village attends the cremation or burial.

Of the Santal festivities the most important is the Bandna. This is a kind of harvest festival which takes place after the winter paddy has been reaped. There is no fixed date for it; but the village headmen arrange the day on which the festivities are to commence.

On the first day sacrifices are made to Jahar at the place of worship outside the village. A few fowls and an egg are offered in sacrifice. The cattle are washed and made to walk over the place of worship. If one of them tramples on the sacrificial egg, it is considered an auspicious omen for its owner. Then for three days there commences a continuous round of festivity in which everyone joins, irrespective of age. The elders indulge in heavy drinking while the young men and girls amuse themselves as young folk will. The whole period is one of unrestrained abandon, and all restrictions are thrown off. On the last day a feast is arranged in which the whole village participates.

The Sakrat festival is generally held about a fortnight after the Bandna. Its special feature is dancing with lathis. On the second day, a contest in archery is held. A plantain tree is set up at a distance, and the first competitor who hits it, is carried shoulder high by the Jog Majhi or joint headman and receives the homage of the spectators.

The Fagua is a counterpart of the Doljatra festival. On the appointed day the villagers go to the place of worship and offer sacrifices. On the way back to the village they sprinkle each other with water, but it is considered highly objectionable to use coloured water.

The Chata and Karam pujas seem to be akin to the Maypole dance. In the former an umbrella is tied to the end of a pole which has been embedded on the ground. In the latter a branch is cut from the jungle and planted in a pathway. The younger folk dance round it from evening until dawn. The branch is then uprooted and immersed in a neighbouring tank with great ceremony.

The Charak fesival takes place in April on a moonlit night and is attended chiefly by the younger folk. Normally no Santal will stay out of his house after dusk for fear of ghosts, but on this occasion they come to the festival up till midnight. Singing and dancing are its chief features, and incidentally it provides an opportunity for clandestine meetings.

In character the Santals are naturally simple and straightforward, though contact with some of their less honest neighbours tend to make them suspicious and crafty. They are very superstitious and in some matters extremely credulous.

The Satyam Sibam sect, for example, was under the leadership of one Jitu Santal, whose wildest pronouncements were accepted by his followers as gospel truth. The Air Survey Company's aeroplane, when photographing over Habibpur thana, was reported to be an incarnation of Krishna. Another dictum of Jitu was that the payment of rent to landlords had been prohibited, and the only payment required was a basketful of paddy to himself. As not infrequently happens with these movements the Satyam Sibam sect tended to get mixed up with politics, and though it made no outward demonstration during the civil disobedience movement, it was always a potential source of trouble. The culminating point came when Jitu and a number of his followers proclaimed their "independence," and occupied the great mosque at Adina. Eventually an engagement took place in which one constable was killed by a poisoned arrow, Jitu was shot dead, and several other Santals were wounded. All this would never have taken place if the Santals were not so astonishingly credulous, and if Jitu's activities could have been limited. Unfortunately attempts to restrict his liberty did not find favour with the High Court.

In spite of their simplicity, however, the Santals can be very reticent, as has been mentioned before, in certain matters affecting their tribal customs. There seems to be a kind of masonic bond or secret understanding between them, so that however simple they may appear, there are some things which can never be learned from them.

They are independent by nature and resent being put under any restriction. They will only work when it pleases them to do so. No Santal could ever lose his independence so far as to live by begging: he would prefer starvation. They are a cheerful, happy-go-lucky people, and there is probably none other that takes so little 'thought for the morrow.' Their life is full of festivities, and they enjoy drinking and music. All over the Barind one hears the music of their bamboo pipes, especially towards sunset. On the other hand, they are lazy and improvident. If they get good winter crops, they are prepared to spend the next six months in idling and merry-making. The women are very much harder workers than the men. In addition to the household work, they do most

of the transplanting of paddy seedlings—a backbreaking job—and much of the reaping and threshing.

**48. Rajbangshis.**—The Rajbangshis are numerically the next largest community. They claim to be descended from the same origin as the Cooch Behar family. Whether that is true or not their appearance and features—the high cheek bone, broad nose and slightly slanting eye—are strongly suggestive of Mongolian origin, and not Dravidian, as has been suggested. Their claim to Kshatriya status is very old, but it is only within comparatively recent times that attempts have been made to advance their social status. The movement owes its origin to Rai Sahib Panchanan Barman, the Rajbangshi leader of Rangpur. A number of the more well-to-do Rajbangshis have taken the sacred thread and adopted the title of Singh, Singha Ray or Sarkar. The movement is handicapped however by the fact that the more backward Rajbangshis have not come into line, and the allied castes of Palis and Koches, who are even more backward, are not admitted by the Rajbangshis to have an equal social status.

Locally the Rajbangshis are known as Bangals, and the part of the village in which they reside, as the Bangalpara. The name is derived from their indigenous origin, as distinguished from the Santals and others who are immigrants. Little is known of their earlier history. They may go back as far as the time when the kingdom of Kamrup covered northern Bengal, and it is not improbable that after the capital of Gaur was abandoned in the latter part of the 16th century they settled in the outlying country.

The two most noteworthy of their customs are the Mahat system and the marriage system. In every village there is a headman known as the Mahat. He is elected and is distinct from the Mandal appointed by the landlord. Petty disputes are referred to and decided by him. Over each group of twenty-two Mahats there is a Raja, to whom any one can appeal if dissatisfied with the decision of the Mahat. Serious cases are often referred directly to him. The Raja has a Dewan whose duty is to make arrangements for trials and to inform the people through an intermediary known as the Barik. He secures the attendance of the villagers on the date

fixed, and the case of either party is explained to the Raja by functionaries known as Kahats. All these posts are honorary and are filled by election, but as a matter of practice they have become hereditary. Their holders have a high social status and are given places of honour at social gatherings.

Among the majority of the Rajbangshis, the nika system or widow marriage is common. Sometimes a marriage is formally contracted but no moral stigma attaches to cohabitation. In formal marriages the cost is higher, because the bridegroom has to pay a dowry to the bride's father and give a marriage feast. In other cases a man may simply take a widow to live with him, a form of marriage known as "kahin," or a widow may retain her deceased husband's home and property and take a man to live with her. This is known as "dangua." Judged by orthodox standards, morality is lax among the Rajbangshis. Cases even occur in which wives are exchanged, or where an influential man arranges to purchase the wife of another.

In character they are timid. Unlike the Santals, they will not stand up for what they consider to be their rights. On the other hand they are more intelligent than the Santals and more thrifty. They are fairly good cultivators, and, unlike the Santals, work regularly. They make rather a speciality of cultivating vegetables and tobacco.

**49. Palis, Deshis and Koches.**—The Palis, Deshis and Koches are ethnically allied to the Rajbangshis. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, writing early in the 19th century, considered that though they were distinguishable castes, they came from the same origin. Their claim to Kshatriya status is not admitted by the Rajbangshis who consider themselves a superior caste.

Among the Palis there are two subdivisions—the Babu Palis and the Sadhu Palis. The former are akin to the Rajbangshis in manners and customs, but the latter unlike the Babu Palis are vegetarians. A movement has been started to raise their social status. They approached the pandits of Nabadwip, who obligingly quoted chapter and verse to prove that the Sadhu Palis are Kshatriyas. Since then they have taken the sacred thread and proclaimed themselves as such. They have given up widow re-marriage, and are trying to



follow the manners of higher caste Hindus.

The Deshis call themselves Gaur Deshis. It is not unlikely that after the abandonment of the capital of Gaur they settled in the surrounding country and continued to call themselves inhabitants of Gaur. Their customs and habits are akin to those of the Rajbangshis.

The Koches may be described as the most backward of all the castes which are of Mongolian origin. They are worshippers of Shiva and their religious ceremonies include observances which are unknown among other Hindu castes and which may be a survival of earlier times. For example, they kill pigeons on the sacrificial altar and drink the blood. Polygamy is practised, as in Hindu society, but polyandry also exists, and a woman can inherit the property of more than one husband, if there are no children.

**50. Other Hindu Castes.**—The other Hindu castes or castes of semi-aboriginal origin within the district, are so many and so varied that it is not possible to give an account of each. Reference has only been made to those castes whose customs contain any interesting or noteworthy features.

Of the indigenous Hindus the weavers—Tanti and Ganesh—are one of the most populous communities. Many of them have taken to agriculture owing to the decline of the weaving industry. The Ganesh caste is slowly decreasing in numbers, largely owing to its own custom that the marriage dowry has to be paid by the bridegroom, instead of to him, as in Hindu society. Many cases occur in which the bridegrooms are unable to save enough money for the dowry until they have reached middle age: and marriages between men of 50 and girls of 12 or 13 are not uncommon. Naturally the proportion of young widows in this caste is high, and as widow re-marriage is forbidden, it is probable that the caste will slowly disappear.

The milkmen, Goalas and Gopes are another fairly large community. The Gopes are divided into four classes—Majrote, Kishnota, Maghaia and Kanoje. There is no intermarriage or eating together between these subdivisions. In other respects they follow Hindu customs, but widow marriage is practised in all classes.

The same division into sub-castes is found among the Mandals and Telis also. The Mandals are divided as follows:—

I—Nagar Mandals—again subdivided into (1) Deb Nagar, (2) Kanhai Nagar, (3) Palas (Paras) Nagar and (4) Bholahatia Nagar.

II—Chasi Mandals.

III—Gangot Mandals.

IV—Chasat Mandals.

Similarly the Telis are sub-divided into Maghaia, Tihatu, Barkapia and Bhatia Telis.

There is no intermarriage between the sub-castes of the Nagars or Telis. The first three Teli sub-castes can dine at each other's houses, but even this is not permitted among the Nagar Mandals. Marriage is generally contracted as in the higher castes, and a dowry has to be paid for the bride in all cases. This varies according to the circumstances of the contracting parties, but the Telis have fixed the limits at Rs. 39 and Rs. 45. The Tirhatia Telis allow widow marriage. Sradh ceremonies are carried out according to Hindu rites, but whereas the Telis observe a period of 13 days for mourning, the Mandals observe one month.

Another interesting Mandal caste are the Chain Mandals who are found in the west of the district. This caste does not appear in the census report of 1931 and it is not known under what head they have been returned. In the census of 1872 their number was given as 30,000, and they are still a fairly numerous and well-known caste. Their most remarkable peculiarity is that they will never touch a chain (this has, of course, no connection with the name of the caste). No one could say what was the origin of this custom, but it probably goes back to totemistic days. A Chain Mandal would not even draw water from a well if a chain is attached to the bucket.

The Binds are another caste who are found in the west of the district. They number nearly eleven thousand and are hardly found in any other district of Bengal. They are a non-Aryan caste, originating from Bihār and have always been reputed to have criminal tendencies.

Among the castes of semi-aboriginal origin, the Mushahars are found in larger numbers in Malda than in any

other district. They come from the Santal Parganas, and are employed mainly as earth cutters and day labourers. They claim to be worshippers of Ram Chandra and observe Hindu festivals such as the Dasara, Saraswati and Kali Pujas. Their own important festival is the "Bouparav" which is held in the month of Magh. Sacrifices are offered and much merry-making takes place.

Other castes of aboriginal derivation are the Turis, Oraons, Koras, Mundas, Muriaris, Bhunyas, Rai Ghatwals and Ghasis.

**51. Muhammadans.**—*The Shersabadiyas.*—Among the Muhammadan agriculturists, the most remarkable people are those known as the 'Shersabadiyas, or more generally as the Baidyas. The name is derived from Shersabad Pargana of Murshidabad district, from which they were forced to emigrate owing to the erosion of the Ganges. There are several theories about their origin. One is that they were originally Mahrattas, who came to Bengal with the Mahratta invaders. It is said that a number of them were made prisoners and forced to accept Islam. Their appearance however is unlike that of the typical Mahratta, and it seems more likely that they are descendants of the army of Sher Shah, one of the Afghan kings. Whatever their origin may be, it is certainly not Bengali. They are for most part big men, of fine physique, with full black beards (unlike the rather straggly beards one generally sees) and with deepest eyes.

They are very good agriculturists and will spend much time and labour on the reclamation of land which the ordinary cultivator would not attempt to clear. Most of the Tal area in Ratua and Harischandrapur thanas was brought under cultivation by them, and more recently they have taken up the "dubas" or valleys of the Tangan and Purnabhava rivers. In cultivating methods they are superior in every respect to their neighbours. They seem to understand better the nature and properties of the soil, and how to get the best results from it.

Generally they make their plots very long and rectangular in shape, so that no time is wasted in continually turning the plough. Even when they acquire land by purchase, they convert the fields to the shape they prefer. They are extremely industrious. They rise very early in the morning and are at work before dawn, probably two hours before the average cultivator appears. Their ploughing is finished a couple of hours or so before midday, and they spend the rest of the day doing odd jobs, repairing their agricultural implements, and so forth. They never waste time in talk, but are busy from morning till night. They are resourceful and have the ability to turn their hand to different trades. Good carpenters, blacksmiths and oilmen are to be found among them, and some of the best boatmen came from their ranks. When there is little agricultural work to be done, some of them trade as middlemen, and make a little profit by buying paddy or gram in the villages and selling it in the local markets. They are business-like, regular in their payments, and punctilious in keeping their promises and contracts. In consequence they are trusted by the money-lenders and can carry on business without much capital.

In social matters their unity is remarkable. In most villages "daladali" or party faction, is a regular feature of local politics, but there is very little among the Shersabadiyas. They obey the orders of their village headmen with almost military precision, and it is extremely difficult to get any information from them against one of their own sect. This naturally increases the difficulties of an investigating officer.

In religious matters they are pious and orthodox. Marriage with any other Muhammadan sect is prohibited, which is one reason why their social unity and fine physique have been preserved.

They have much common sense and quickly realise what is to their advantage. They saw the value of settlement operations at once, and there was no



class which was so punctilious in appearance. They were always present with the right papers when wanted, and possession of land being their main interest in life, they were always very attentive to the settlement staff. They are generally very regular in their payment of rent, chaukidari tax and dues to money-lenders.

52. **The Nadegustis.**—Another peculiar Muhammadan sect, who live in the Mirataluk area, and along the western bank of the Mahananda towards the south of the district, are known as Nadegustis. They are said to have been Hindus of Nadia district, who were converted to Islam centuries ago, and migrated to the Natore subdivision of Rajshahi district. Being unable to get land there, they came to Malda district 70 or 80 years ago, hearing from travellers to Gaur and Pandua that there was land available for settlement.

Since then, they have increased in numbers, and are spreading over a wide area. They still retain some of their Hindu customs; for example, they wear new cloths, and apply a pigment of rice powder (alipana) to the walls of the house on festive occasions. They also respect Hindu gods. In the month of Baisakh, hundreds of them go to Daldali village, and offer puja to the goddess *Burima*. Like the Shersabadiyas, they do not allow marriage with any other Muhammadan sect.

Through the district there is practically no communal feeling. The only area in which there has been friction consists of a few villages near Kaliachak. Apart from this, the two communities live in harmony and respect each other's religions and customs. Several cases were noticed in which debottar lands, the income of which is devoted to the worship of a particular Hindu deity, had passed by purchase to Muhammadans. Similarly, pirottar lands which are devoted to Muhammadan saints had come into the possession of Hindus. In both cases the

present owners arrange to carry out the necessary ceremonies, the Muhammadans by engaging Hindu priests and the Hindus by engaging Muhammadan Mollas.

53. **Language.**—The language of the courts, and that generally spoken throughout the district, is Bengali. The Santals speak Santali among themselves, but the great majority of them also understand and speak Bengali. The honorific forms are, however, unknown to them. They invariably address one as "tumi" and their superiors address them as "tui".

As might be expected in a district where so many castes came originally from Bihar, there is a considerable proportion of Hindi words in the local dialects. The higher castes who originated from Bihar, use a Bengali-cum-Hindi Maithili dialect in conversation among themselves. The Mandals and other lower classes use a dialect which is largely unintelligible to Bengalis proper. The women do not understand Bengali well, and when speaking among themselves can hardly be understood by a Bengali. The boatmen also have a peculiar dialect of their own, which is extremely difficult to follow. Among Muhammadans, Bengali, with a mixture of Hindi words, is spoken, and in the higher class families Urdu is often used. The Shersabadiyas have an intonation peculiar to themselves, the voice rising to a high pitch at the end of the sentence. This peculiarity is an unfailing source of satire at Gambhira and Alkap performances.

54. **Occupations.**—The following figures taken from the census report of 1931 show the various occupations in each of which over 1,000 persons are employed. The different subdivisions of agriculture, trade in dairy produce and other foodstuffs have been grouped together to indicate the total number of persons supported by each. The persons shown under the census headings as "earners and working dependents" have

been included, and those under the heading "subsidiary occupation" have been excluded :—

Occupation.	Persons employed.	
Non-cultivating rent receivers .. ..	8,575	
Rent collectors, clerks, etc. .. ..	2,320	
Pasture and agriculture .. ..	212,525	
Ordinary cultivation .. ..	206,235	
Cultivating owners .. ..	91,756	
Tenant cultivators .. ..	16,649	
Agricultural labourers .. ..	86,821	613,986
Stock raising, cattle, silk worms, etc. .. ..	5,586	
Fishing .. ..	1,686	
Cotton spinning and weaving .. ..	3,079	
Carpenters .. ..	2,024	
Basket-makers, thatchers, etc. .. ..	1,718	
Blacksmiths .. ..	1,145	
Brass and bell-metal workers .. ..	664	1,809
Potters .. ..	1,161	
Rice huskers .. ..	9,193	
Shoe makers .. ..	1,496	
Barbers .. ..	1,718	
Bricklayers, well-sinkers, etc. .. ..	1,012	
Makers of jewellery and ornaments .. ..	1,906	
Traders in piece-goods, cloth, silk, etc. .. ..	10,380	
Dealers in grain and pulses .. ..	4,015	
Dealers in sweetmeats, sugar, etc. .. ..	1,385	
Dealers in dairy produce .. ..	2,520	
Dealers in other footscuffs .. ..	11,218	19,138
Police and village watchmen .. ..	1,421	
Public administration .. ..	1,060	
Professions and liberal arts (priests, lawyers and medical practitioners) .. ..	3,845	
Teachers, musicians and others engaged in the arts .. ..	1,290	
Domestic servants .. ..	17,770	
Labourers and workmen .. ..	3,808	
Beggars, vagrants and prostitutes .. ..	2,812	

The number of persons engaged in agricultural employment appears to be unduly low, because the non-working dependents were not included in the census figures, though they form part of the cultivating classes and are supported by agriculture. The distinction in the

1931 census report between ordinary cultivators, cultivating owners and tenant cultivators is also rather obscure. A better general idea of the numbers engaged in the principal occupations can perhaps be obtained from the summary given in the 1921 census report. The figures in that year were as follows :—

Group.	Number of persons supported.	Percentage of district population.
Agriculture	754,495	76.5
Industries	78,371	8.0
Commerce	69,750	7.1
Professions	7,294	0.7
Others	75,755	7.7

This table indicates that although the great majority of the population is dependent upon agricultural produce, there is a comparatively large percentage engaged in commerce and industry. With the exception of Pabna district, the percentage of persons supported by agriculture is lower than that of any other district in Northern Bengal. The comparative figures are :—

District.	Percentage dependent on agriculture.	
Rajshahi .. ..	84.5	
Dinajpur .. ..	91.2	
Jalpaiguri .. ..	91.1	
Rangpur .. ..	89.6	
Bogra .. ..	87.0	
Pabna .. ..	75.0	
Malda .. ..	76.5	

The principal industry is the production of silk yarn and cloth. Here the figures are irreconcilable. In the supplement to Table X of the census report of 1931, the number of persons engaged in this industry is shown as 536, excluding subsidiary occupation, which is also a small figure. The number returned in the 1921 census was 13,222, and in the 1911 census 34,598. The decline between 1911 and 1921 was due to disease among the silkworms, but since the Sericultural Department has introduced methods of eliminating disease, there has been a revival and the figure of 18,324, obtained after a census by the department in 1926, may be accepted as approximately correct.

The business in paddy, pulses, silk and mangoes, of which an account has been given elsewhere, is mainly responsible for the percentage returned under the heading "Commerce."

Paddy husking accounts for a surprisingly large number of people. The work is carried out almost exclusively by women, and is connected with the large export of rice.

**55. Economic conditions.**—It has always been the practice to carry out economic enquiries in one or two typical villages in each circle. A number of families are selected, some well-to-do, some poor and some of average means. The various items of income and expenditure are calculated, and a budget is drawn up for each family over a period of one year. The families are then classified under four heads—comfort, below comfort, above starvation and starvation.

The system of classification, and the figures obtained, have, I think, to be regarded as being only approximately correct; and caution has to be exercised in drawing conclusions from them. The majority come under the head "below comfort"; a considerable proportion under the head "above starvation" and a smaller proportion under the head "starvation." If the last two classes are to be literally interpreted as being near to, or at the point of starvation, it might reasonably be expected that during the economic depression, which began in the middle of the settlement operations, most of the families under these heads would have been in such a plight that relief operations would have been necessary. But this was not the case. The truth is that in times of depression the cultivator is compelled to lower his standard of living like everyone else; to spend less on litigation, luxuries and other non-essentials; and to dispense with hired labour as far as possible. The poorest people, it is true, may then approach starvation, in the sense that they may only be able to take one meal a day instead of two, but there has been no suggestion of famine conditions throughout the worst period of depression.

The figures themselves are open to doubt because it is unlikely that the average cultivator, who keeps no accounts, and is lazy about details of income and expenditure, is in a position

to supply accurate information. This is one reason for the discrepancies in the figures. Another is that there is some difference in the standard used by individual officers in assessing the value of the produce.

**56. Family budgets.**—Three examples have been given below, taken from different parts of the district. The income in all three examples is confined entirely to agricultural, horticultural and dairy produce. Cases where families have a supplementary income from trade or money-lending have been excluded as not being altogether typical:—

*Tafor Sheikh of Khalunpur, police-station Kharba.*

Males—2.

Females—3.

Children—2.

Debts—Nil.

Area of holding—16½ acres.

*Income.*

	Rs.
Value of produce and fodder	630
Income from sale of fruit, fowls, eggs, milk and other products	170
<b>Total</b>	<b>800</b>

*Expenditure.*

Rent, interest and abwabs	70
Taxes	7
Cost of food	426
Clothing	80
General household expenditure	15
Cost of medicine and doctors	50
Upkeep of cattle and implements	24
Wages to agricultural labourers	150
Litigation	Nil
Luxury, etc.	32
<b>Total</b>	<b>854</b>
<b>Deficit</b>	<b>54</b>

*Sheikh Hingan of Balarampur, police-station Ratua.*

Males—3.  
Females—3.  
Children—5.  
Debts—Rs. 2,000.  
Area of holding—33 acres.

*Income.*

	Rs.
Value of produce and fodder from khas land ...	1,000
Rent received ...	225
Income from sale of fruit, fowls, eggs, milk, vegetables and other produce ...	325
<b>Total ...</b>	<b>1,550</b>

*Expenditure.*

Rent, interest and abwabs ...	125
Taxes ...	5
Cost of food ...	550
Clothing ...	125
General household expenditure ...	120
Cost of medicine and doctor ...	15
Upkeep of cattle and implement ...	60
Wages to agricultural labourers ...	80
Litigation ...	Nil
Luxury ...	100
Interest on debts ...	300
<b>Total ...</b>	<b>1,480</b>
<b>Balance ...</b>	<b>70</b>

*Kantoo Sontal, village Dhananjoy, police-station Habibpur.*

Males—3.  
Females—3.  
Children—2.  
Debts—Rs. 25.  
Area of holding—8.33 acres.

*Income.*

	Rs.
Value of produce and fodder ...	150
From sale of fruits, fowls, eggs, milk and other produce ...	10
<b>Total ...</b>	<b>160</b>

*Expenditure.*

	Rs.
Rent, interest and abwab	25-12-6
Taxes (chaukidari) ...	1
Cost of food ...	90
Clothing ...	20
General household expenditure ...	18
Cost of medicine and doctor ...	4
Upkeep of cattle and implements ...	5
Wages to agricultural labour ...	5
Litigation ...	10
Luxury ...	Nil
<b>Total ...</b>	<b>178-12-6</b>
<b>Deficit</b>	<b>18-12-6</b>

It will be noticed that the value of the produce in all these examples is distinctly low. This is due to the fact that when the enquiries were made in 1930 the price of paddy had fallen to Rs. 2-8 per maund. Since then it has fallen as low as Re. 1-8. In the third example the value is lower than that of the other examples because the outturn per acre in the Barind is, with the exception of the lowest-lying land, considerably smaller than that obtaining in the rest of the district. In respect of the income derived from the sale of mangoes and other fruit, from vegetables, milk and poultry, Malda is probably more fortunate than most districts.

The first example actually shows a small deficit, but it is probable that the cost of food has been rather over-estimated. The price of rice purchased is shown in this case as Rs. 280. The average price of rice in 1930 was 8 seers 13 chittaks to the rupee; so that Rs. 280 represents about 2,500 seers or nearly 7 seers a day. This is a generous allowance for a family consisting of five adults and two children. Probably 5 seers a day would be nearer the mark. The figure for purchase of rice would then be about Rs. 200 and the deficit would disappear. In times of hardship, it would probably be further decreased; the expenditure on luxury would largely disappear; and the wages of agricultural labourers would be considerably curtailed.

The second example is that of a family of fairly well-to-do jotedars. The budget shows a small annual surplus,

in spite of several items of expenditure which would be for the most part unessential in times of scarcity. The expenditure on luxury is high; the purchase of cattle might have been deferred and the erection of new huts substituted by repairs to the existing ones. So far as income and expenditure on necessities are concerned the family is fairly comfortably off. On the other hand debts have been incurred amounting to Rs. 2,000 on which the interest alone amounts to Rs. 300 annually.

In both these examples the tenants are fortunate enough to have avoided any expenses on litigation, and they pay nothing for education.

The third example has been included to illustrate the case of a typical Santal. His debts are small, and the annual deficit could probably be avoided in times of scarcity. Under the head luxury nothing is shown and the budget depends largely on the success of paddy, which is the principal crop grown in that area. Since Chapter VIIA of the Bengal Tenancy Act was brought into force in 1923, indebtedness has considerably decreased as the mahajans decline to advance money. On the other hand there is a remarkable difference between the cost of food in this case—Rs. 90 for a family of 6 adults and 2 children—and the first case—Rs. 426 for a family of 5 adults and 2 children. It is hardly possible that there could be such a wide divergence in the standard of living. Although the figures may be accepted as being approximately correct they make no allowance for various natural calamities which in some years render them far from accurate. Reference has already been made to these factors—the inundation which may follow a high rise of the Ganges in the west of the district; the flooding of the tal area in the north-west of the district, due to the sudden rise and overflow of the Mahananda; the hailstorms which may ruin the mango prospects; and the drought which may wither up the winter paddy on the high ground in the Barind. These calamities are unfortunately not uncommon, particularly in the tal area and the Barind. During two seasons, recovery of settlement costs was held up in part of the tal area, owing to the destruction of paddy and jute by heavy rain, and to the flooding of the Mahananda. In the Barind, on the other hand, a year of short rainfall, or a long break in the rains dries up the transplanted paddy

seedlings, except in the lowlying valleys between the undulations. I have frequently seen large tracts of land, partly ploughed and abandoned for want of rain, or transplanted with seedlings which were withering away in dry soil.

**57. Poverty and debt.**—The larger questions of poverty and indebtedness are common to all districts, but there are one or two features of the problem affecting Malda district which merit attention.

Reference has been made to the fact that if the Santals get a good crop of winter paddy, they are perfectly happy to sit idle for the next six months. This is largely true of other classes also, especially those who live in the Barind, and are almost entirely dependent on one crop. The Santals were singled out because they are particularly prone to idle away the period between the reaping of one crop and sowing of the next; but their example illustrates the wider truth, that an enormous source of income from agriculture is allowed to remain untouched, simply because the cultivator will not work a little harder. The Barind, although less fertile than other parts of the district, is quite capable of producing other crops such as vegetables, potatoes, sugarcane, and so forth. The same slothfulness is apparent in the centre of the district, where the area under mango garden steadily increased, until it received a setback during the years of depression. The reason for this increase is that a mango garden, once it is laid out and bearing fruit, provides a regular income with the minimum of labour and expenditure. In the west of the district, there is more aus, jute, wheat and barley, and more evidence that the land is fully employed; but as a general proposition it may be said that the average cultivator loses a considerable annual income through no other reason than his own idleness.

These remarks are not intended altogether as a disparagement of the cultivator. Bengal, though blessed with a soil of great fertility, is cursed with an enervating climate, which induces sloth and extravagance. Nevertheless it has to be admitted that a much greater effort could be made. The average Punjab cultivator, who has to contend with a less fertile soil and pay a high rent for it, would be astonished at the area under only one crop, and the consequent loss of income. Or to take a local example, one has only to compare the

Shersabadiya Muhammadans with other agricultural classes, to realise that their superior economic position is due very largely to their remarkable industry.

Social ceremonies are another factor in the problem of indebtedness. There is no doubt whatever, that the sums spent on these ceremonies are out of all proportion to the cultivators' income. One frequently hears of the "crushing burden of agricultural debt" in Bengal—a phrase which suggests that the debts of the cultivating classes are entirely due to the necessity of borrowing in order to carry on agriculture. Nothing could be further from the truth. The old idea that the cultivator cannot do without advances has been exploded during the years of depression, when the sources of credit have almost entirely dried up. Unable to secure advances, the cultivator has cut down his standard of living, and curtailed the employment of hired labourers as far as possible. Everywhere, during the jute season, one sees groups of cultivators helping each other with the weeding of the crop. On one day they weed A's land; on the next B's land, and so on. Unfortunately no attempt was made during the economic enquiries to obtain figures which would show what proportion of debt is incurred for agricultural, and what for social, reasons; but it would perhaps not be far wrong to hazard a guess that more than half of the cultivators' debts are incurred for expenditure on social ceremonies. At all events it may be said with certainty that roughly three quarters of the agricultural population of Malda are in a position, according to the economic enquiries made, to maintain themselves on their income without getting into debt; yet the great majority are actually in debt.

The mahajan and his rapacious methods are another problem. The co-operative movement has done something to provide credit on reasonable terms, except in the Barind where the influence of the money-lenders and the ignorance of the people have rendered progress difficult. Here the mahajan is still supreme. But in spite of the advantages which the co-operative movement contains, there is always a noticeable tendency to grant loans on insufficient security, and on a larger scale than is strictly necessary.

Further, the time-limit imposed on loans, and the procedure for realising sums from defaulters—necessary in

themselves—are at variance with the traditional methods of money lending. The work of co-operative societies was constantly being misrepresented by mahajans, who ascribed to the system various imaginary pains and penalties in the event of non-payment. It has to be recognised that the mahajan is a necessary evil, and that the cultivator will continue to go to him for loans. It has also to be realised that many loans remain unsatisfied, so far as the capital is concerned. The reason for this is obvious. The local mahajan, has a fairly limited clientele, and it is more profitable to him to keep on collecting interest, as far as he possibly can, than to call in his capital. Taking interest on smaller loans at 36 per cent., and allowing for the accounts being made out half yearly, he can get back his capital in a little over two years. He therefore endeavours to screw as much interest as possible out of the debtor, and is even content to forego interest in bad years, if he sees a fair prospect of resuming collections later on. Not infrequently a cultivator contracts a debt and goes on paying interest, off and on, until he dies. The debt may then be inherited by his family, or if the mahajan is satisfied with what he has extracted he may return the bond.

These are three of the most important factors which are responsible for the present economic conditions, but while it is easy to point them out, it is extremely difficult to suggest remedies. Idleness and social extravagance are inherent in the character and customs of the country. To counteract them there does not seem to be any force but education. In more prosperous time, the Primary Education Act may play its part, given a better standard of teaching and a more practical curriculum. It is to be hoped, however, that when the Act does come into force, the sons of cultivators will not be made to digest Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare or learn text books by heart. What is wanted besides the ability to read and write, is compulsory physical training and agricultural classes. Above all the idea will have to be inculcated that agriculture and literacy are not incompatible pursuits.

The acquisitiveness of the mahajan may be limited by the amendment to the Bengal Tenancy Act, which permits no other form of mortgage than a usufructuary mortgage. The provision had not however been in force long enough at



the time of the settlement operations to form an opinion on its effects. Previous to this, the Usurious Loans Act was enacted in 1918 with the object of limiting the interest which a mahajan could claim. Its most remarkable feature has been the unwillingness of the civil courts to make use of it. It is to be hoped that the new Act—the Bengal Money Lending Act of 1933—will have more practical results, and that the establishment of debt settlement boards will help in decreasing the burden of agricultural debt.

## Chapter V—Historical Associations.

**58. Early historical associations.**—Although, strictly speaking, the old cities of Gaur and Pandua and other places of interest, are the province of the historian, their importance to Malda district, and the fact that some fresh light has been thrown on them during settlement operations, may serve as an apology for an account of their history and their principal buildings.

The historical associations of the district go back to very early times. The earliest inscription is a copper plate dating from the third year of Dharma Pala, the Buddhist king. It was found in 1893 at Khalimpur (now known as Khale Alampur, a village lying about six miles east of Gaur on the opposite side of Bhatia beel) by Mr. Batabyal, then District Magistrate of Malda. The date of the inscription is about 800 A.D. It refers to a grant of land and suggests that the Ganges, which then probably flowed on the east side of Gaur, was receding to the west and leaving alluvial accretions on the eastern side.

Three hundred years later, the name of Gaur was Ramavati, so-called after Rama Pala who ruled about 1100 A.D. Later it was named Lakhnauti, a contraction of Lakshanavati, after Lakshman Sen, who was the last of the Sen dynasty.

The historical period begins with the invasion of Bengal in 1202 A.D. by Mohammad Bhakhtear Khiliji, a General of the Delhi Emperor Shahabuddin Ghori. He is said to have advanced rapidly with a few cavalry ahead of the main army, and surprised Lakshman Sen at what is now Nabadwip in Nadia district, and was then the capital of Bengal. Lakshman Sen fled, possibly

to Lakhnauti, and thence to Sunargaon in Dacca district. Bhakhtear Khiliji seems to have followed him to Lakhnauti, which he made his capital, and the centre from which various expeditions were organised. After his death there followed a series of Governors, who were subordinate to the Emperor of Delhi, until 1338 A.D., when Malik Fakhruddin, the Governor of Eastern Bengal, declared his independence. At this time Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah was the Governor at Gaur. He set up a rival claim to Fakhruddin and in 1352 A.D. became the ruler of all Bengal. During his rule (1339-1358) the capital was removed from Gaur to Pandua, and there commences what may be called the second period of Muhammadan sovereignty. Of the buildings which were erected at Gaur during the first period, none are standing. The buildings now extant all belong to the third period when the capital was retransferred to Gaur.

Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah's declaration of independence and the extension of his kingdom brought him into conflict with the Delhi Emperor Firoz Shah, who invaded Bengal in 1354. Ilyas Shah is said to have taken up his position at Ekdala, a place which has not been satisfactorily identified. It has been connected with Murcha Bishanpur, a village on the Kalindri, about eight miles west of Pandua. Here there is still a circular rampart, resembling an island in the air photograph. It is connected with the Kalindri by a channel, and is protected on the north by a long beel. On the west was the heavy jungle of Ekborna. The chief point in favour of this theory is that the fort is not far from Belbari, where the grave of a saint named Shah Bilyabari is situated. The historians say that during the siege of Ekdala, Ilyas Shah slipped out in the disguise of a beggar and visited the grave at the time of the saint's death. Belbari, now known as Balihari, lies only four miles east of Pandua. On the other hand there is an Ekdala in Dinajpur district, twenty-three miles north of Pandua. This site would be more in consonance with the belief that Ilyas Shah retreated from Pandua. If Murcha Bishanpur is the correct place, he must have advanced to cover Pandua, as the Emperor's army came from the west.

The invasion ended in the defeat of Ilyas Shah and the conclusion of a truce. Later, when his son Sikandar Shah had



succeeded, a second invasion took place, but the Emperor was bought off and returned to Delhi. Ghiyasuddin came after Sikandar, and then followed an interregnum of Hindu rule, though Ghiyasuddin's son Saifuddin was apparently on the throne for a short while. Raja Kans, who usurped the throne, was the Hindu Zamindar of Bhatuarah, according to the Riyaz. This was probably a large tract lying to the east and south of Pandua, and covering part of Rajshahi and Dinajpur districts. It appears in Rennell's map as Bettoreah. The usurper's oppression was terminated by the invasion of Sultan Ibrahim Shargi of Jaunpur who encamped with a large army near Pandua at Firozpur (Old Malda). To save himself Raja Kans offered his son Jadu as a convert to Islam. Jadu was renamed Jalaluddin and put on the throne; but after the invading army had left the country Raja Kans deposed his son and ruled till his death. Jalaluddin then again succeeded him, followed by his son Ahmad Shah, who was assassinated in 1442 A.D.

This concludes the second period, during which the mosques and other buildings at Pandua were erected. After the death of Ahmad Shah, the house of Ilyas Shah was restored in the person of Nasiruddin Mamud Shah, who ruled from 1442-1459. It is thought that the capital was again transferred to Gaur during his reign. The Dakhal Darwaza, a gateway to the north-west of the citadel, is ascribed to him, and the bridge to the north of the Kotwali gate, at the southern end of the city, is given the date 1457. The remaining buildings were erected during the latter half of the 15th and early part of the 16th century. During this period Gaur reached the height of its prosperity. The city is said to have been  $12\frac{1}{2}$  miles in length, north and south, and on an average two miles in breadth. De Barros, writing before 1540, described it as follows:—

"The streets are broad and straight and the main streets have trees planted in rows along the walls to give shade to the passengers. The population is so great, and the streets so thronged with the concourse and traffic of people, specially of such as come to present themselves at the King's court, that they cannot find their way past one another. A great part of this city consists of stately and well wrought buildings."\* The population is estimated

by Farea of Sanya, who wrote before 1640, to have numbered about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million.

The decline of the city commenced with its conquest in 1539 by Sher Shah, the Governor of Bihar, who removed the treasure when he was forced to retreat before the invasion of the Emperor Humayun. Humayun halted for some months at Gaur, which he renamed Janatabad, the "city of Paradise." Later Sher Shah returned and after the battle of Kanauj drove out Humayun and assumed the Imperial throne. There followed a series of Governors in Gaur of the house of Mohammad Sar, but in 1575 a great plague broke out, which depopulated the city. Previous to this the capital had been shifted to Tanda, on the opposite side of what is now the Bhagirathi river, about two miles west of the present village Khirki.

Daud Khan, the last of the Afghan kings, abandoned Tanda and reoccupied Gaur in 1574. He died there in the following year when the plague broke out. Tanda continued to be the capital until 1596 when Man Singh removed the seat of Government to Rajmahal on the opposite bank of the Ganges. Gaur and Tanda were thus deserted and quickly became overgrown with jungle. Ralph Fitch, writing in 1585, observes: "Tanda is in the land of Gauren. It (Gaur) hath in times of past been a kingdom but now is subdued by Zelaudin Eikabar (Jalaluddin Akbar). Great trade and traffique is here of cotton and of cloth of cotton. The people go naked with a little cloth bound about their waste. It standeth in the country of Bengala. Here be many tigers, wild bufs, and great store of wilde fowle." The depredations of "souvenir hunters" in the centuries that followed, combined with the forces of nature brought about the destruction of many of the buildings, especially private houses. The ransacking of the ruins appears to have been carried out by anyone who had command of labour and transport. The following entry, dated 1680, in the diary of the East India Company's merchants at Malda, is regrettable, but is only an instance of the general practice:—

"We have this day alsoe delivered him (Rajaray Chowdhury) Rupes: 300 to bring us bricks thither: Hee is onley to be allowed the charges bringing them from Gower (Gaur) in the time of Raines by water, which is not far off then; and the bricks he gives us for nothing, and stones alsoe he promises at

that Rate what shall have occasion, for which will make our building much the cheaper."†

The mosques, being held sacred, have remained untouched by human agency. The ruins were first explored in 1786 by Creighton who did a number of excellent water colours of various buildings, and later by Buchanan Hamilton in 1808 and Major Francklin in 1810. The latter two antiquarians have given detailed descriptions of their observations. Later in 1870 Ravenshaw compiled a book on Gaur, containing photographs of the ruins as they then appeared. In 1815 Mr. King, the Collector of Malda, addressed the Government on the state of the ruins, but it was not until the passing of the Preservation of Ancient Monuments Act, after Lord Curzon had visited among others the ruins of Gaur and Pandua, that the buildings were restored and regularly preserved.

One of the most interesting features of the history of Gaur is the transference of the capital from one site to another. There is little doubt that these changes were due to the movements of the Ganges. Clearly the capital had to be on the river, so that it would be easily accessible to the great volume of river-borne merchandise. It may also be assumed that the kings and governors of Bengal had certain naval forces at their disposal which would be anchored off the capital. The Riyaz mentions that Daud Khan, the last Afghan king, had, in addition to a large army, "many armed cruisers," with which he engaged Akbar's fleet on the Ganges. So, probably, had his predecessors. It may be surmised that there was generally a flotilla of fighting ships, and a swarm of country boats anchored off the capital.

Mr. Stapleton‡ thinks that the Ganges originally flowed alongside the red alluvial tract of northern and eastern Bengal through Rajshahi and Dacca districts. If that is so, its course would have passed slightly north of Old Malda, near Muralighat, a name which, as Mr. Stapleton points out, may indicate that the Mahananda then flowed into the Ganges at a point just south of Pandua. It must then have flowed round the north of Gaur and southwards on the eastern side of the city, where Bhatia beel and other beels now lie. The

abandonment of Pandua was evidently caused by the commencement of the westward and southward movement of the Ganges, which eventually took it over to the Rajmahal hills. Pandua was thus deserted by the river, and it seems probable that the Bhagirathi, now a small stream running past the western side of the city, must have been a large branch of the Ganges when the capital was transferred to Gaur in the middle of the 15th century. The further recess of the river to the west was evidently responsible for the foundation of Tanda, and may also have been the cause of the plague in 1575. Tanda is located in Mauza Jaluabadha, police-station Kalia-chak. It contains raised ground which looks like a hillock and the low depressions around it suggests that there was a continuous moat. Scattered bricks are found on its site. The removal of the capital to Rajmahal indicates that the river was rapidly moving westwards towards the hills at the end of the 16th century.

59. **Gaur.**—The city of Gaur lies along the English Bazar-Sibganj Road. It is easily accessible by car, as the road is metalled up to the 14th mile, and there are motorable roads leading to the various buildings. The whole city was originally surrounded by ramparts, which are said to have been covered with buildings. These have now disappeared and the ramparts remain overgrown with trees and jungle. On the eastern side of the city there is a double rampart of great thickness, flanked by a moat on the inside. The height of these ramparts is at least 30 feet in places and the breadth at the base 50 yards. Their object was evidently to serve as a protection against the river, rather than as a military fortification. In the Ain-i-Akbari they are referred to as dams. If the river flowed to the east of the city, as is generally accepted, and later moved westwards to the present course of the Bhagirathi, there was a natural defence on both sides, and naval protection must have been just as important to the city as military. This theory is supported by the existence of a causeway built by Ghiyasuddin (now the alignment of the English Bazar-Rajmahal Road) which was probably constructed as a protection against the river. There is also an old embankment running east and west

†The Malda Diary and Consultation (1680-1682) published in the Asiatic Society of Bengal's Journal and Proceeding, Vol. XIV, Nos. 1 and 2, 1918.

‡Introduction to Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua by Khan Sahib M. Abid Ali Khan.

through the beel which lies a mile west of English Bazar.

As one approaches Gaur from the north, one passes through the now non-existent Phulbari gate about three miles from English Bazar, and continues south as far as Piasbari dak bungalow. Here a road leads off to the west, and then turns south to Ramkeli, where the annual mela is held in commemoration of the visit of Chaitanya, the religious reformer, early in the 16th century.

A little further south, one comes to the Bara Sona Masjid also known as the Bara Dwari Masjid. This is the largest of the monuments of Gaur. It is a fine building of black basalt surmounted originally by forty-four domes. A corridor over which eleven domes are still standing runs the whole length of the building and opens on to the courtyard through eleven pointed arches. On the other side of the courtyard is an entrance gate of the same stone with one archway. Above this arch and on either side of it are two stone slabs on which a lotus has been carved. This indicates that the basalt was obtained from Hindu buildings of an earlier period. The name, Sona Masjid or "golden mosque," is supposed to refer to the practice of gilding the domes. The alternative name Bara Dwari is not so easily explained. It was thought to mean the "mosque of twelve entrances" but as there are only eleven, this seems unlikely.

About half a mile further south is the Dakhal Darwaza which was the entrance gate to the citadel of Gaur. It stands in the great rampart, about a mile in length and half as wide on the average, which surrounds the area of the citadel. One enters the passage leading down its centre by a high elephant arch. On either side of the passage are guard rooms, the walls of which are nearly ten feet thick. The building is made of the small flat bricks, found generally in Gaur, and is ornamented on the outside with carvings.

Half a mile further south one comes to the Firoz Minar, a tower built of brick 84 feet high and 64 in circumference with a spiral staircase leading up to a small room at the top. Originally it was surmounted by a dome. The tower is thought to have been erected by Saifuddin Firoz Shah, and to represent a pillar of victory, but it is not clear what victory it commemorates.

Less than half a mile further south and near to the eastern entrance to the

citadel is the Chamkati Masjid. This is a mosque of brickwork, surmounted by a single dome. There are still some enamelled bricks of different colours to be seen at the cornice. From the name of Chamkati, "skin cutter," it is surmised that the mosque was built by a sect of dervishes who used to gash themselves with knives.

Near to the Chamkati Mosque is the eastern gate into the citadel, called the Lukachuri gate. It is a fairly large building originally three storied, and surmounted with battlements with a single narrow entrance. The architectural style is very different to that of the other gates. The arches, instead of being pointed, are slightly rounded.

Just inside the gateway is the Qadam Rasul, or footprint of the prophet. The building is a single-domed mosque, of brickwork, beautifully carved on the front. The two turrets at either side are an example of the best carving on brick to be seen in Gaur. Inside the building stands a pedestal of black marble, on which the footprint is placed when visitors arrive. The footprint consists of a rectangular piece of stone about two inches thick, rather like pumice stone in appearance, on which the outline of a footmark is clearly imprinted. It is said to have been brought to Gaur by Hussain Shah from the Chilla Khana of the saint Jalaluddin Tabrezi at Pandua. Later it was taken to Murshidabad in Sirajuddaula's time, but restored to Gaur by Mir Jafar. Close to the Qadam Rasul is a small mausoleum containing the tomb of Fatte Khan, son of Dilu Khan, who was an emissary of the Emperor Aurangzeb. Its sloping roof gives it the appearance of a cultivator's hut, and it looks rather incongruous beside the Qadam Rasul.

Not far from the Qadam Rasul is the Chika Masjid, a square brick building with a single dome. It is not known why it is called "masjid" because there is no sign of any pulpit or prayer niche. The theory that it is a mausoleum is also improbable in view of the absence of any local tradition regarding the graves. It is more likely to have been a prison or something of the sort. Beside it there was originally a large building, which has now disappeared, leaving behind only the black basalt pillars. This is reported locally to have been an office building. Very likely it was, as there must certainly have been some offices

within the citadel. Its proximity to the Chika Masjid suggests that the latter may have been the jail, or perhaps a record room.

Just to the east of the Chika Masjid is the Gumti gate, a small single-domed building, which may have served as another entrance to the citadel, or possibly as a guard room for the jailors. The corner pillars contain enamelled bricks of different colours. The building is now being used as a museum.

West of the Gumti and Lukachuri gates one comes to the royal palace. This was enclosed on the north, east and south by a high wall called the "Bais-gazi" from the fact that it was 22 "Gaz" (the equivalent of 66 feet) in height. Its breadth is about 15 feet at the base and 9 at the top. On the west the palace was protected by a rampart. In this area there is the Khazanchi Khana or treasury house. In the centre there is a fair sized tank, known as the Taksal Dighi, or "tank of the mint."

Leaving the palace area and turning south along the main road, one comes to the Tantipara Masjid about half a mile further on. This must originally have been a very fine mosque, but the domes and part of the walls fell down during the earthquake of 1885. It is built of red brick, richly ornamented with carving, and has two octagonal towers at either end. The only remains inside are the black basalt pillars which divided the building into two aisles. The name implies that the mosque was situated in the weavers' quarter and has nothing to do with its origin. The inscription giving its date and the name of the king who built it, is thought to be the one which is now inside the Qadam Rasul.

A mile further south stands the Latan Masjid on the left of the main road. This is a single-domed mosque of brick in a good state of preservation. Originally it was covered with enamelled tiles in blue, white, green and yellow and of these considerable traces still remain. The meaning of the name has not been clearly established. It is supposed to be a corruption of the word "natin," a dancing girl, and the mosque is popularly known as the "mosque of the dancing girl." One theory is that it was built by a dancing girl, who put the king's name in the inscription tablet (this sounds rather unlikely); another is that the glittering appearance suggested a dancing girl.

About a mile west of the Latan Masjid there are the remains of a large mosque called the Gunmant Masjid. Originally this must have been almost as large as the Bara Dwari Mosque, and like it had a corridor running the length of the building. The lower part is built of stone, and the remainder, from the arches upwards, was of brick. The brickwork has now almost entirely disappeared.

Continuing south by the main road from the Latan Masjid one crosses a five-arched bridge, dated 1457, and comes nearly half a mile further on to the Kotwali gate. This was the southern entrance to the city and stands in the great southern rampart. The archway over the road has now fallen in, but there is a photograph of it in Ravenshaw's "Gaur." It was 30 feet high and nearly 17 feet across.

Nearly a mile further south there are two more mosques. The Dhanarchak Mosque, about half a mile to the west of the road, and the Darasbari Mosque about a quarter of a mile to the east.

Still further south, near the 14th mile stone from English Bazar, stands the Chota Sona Masjid on the left hand side of the road. This is another very fine mosque in a good state of preservation since its restoration. It is built of brick faced with stone, and has some very good ornamental work, both on the exterior and on the interior of the three pointed domes in the centre of the roof. Flanking these are six round domes on either side. The name of the mosque is probably derived, like that of Bara Dwari, or great golden mosque, from the fact that the domes were gilded. One interesting discovery was made when part of the western wall fell down, and revealed some stones on which were carved the figures of Hindu deities. The stones had been placed facing inwards, so that their existence was previously unknown. The presence of the figures in the wall of a mosque indicates that the materials for the Muhammadan buildings were taken from the buildings of the earlier Hindu kingdom.

About half a mile to the north-west of the small golden mosque is a Darga containing the tomb of Shah Niamatulla, a pious and learned saint, who died in Gaur about the middle of the 17th century. It is a one-domed building of considerable size with three arches on each side.

Gaur is full of dighis and tanks of various sizes. Of those within the limits of the city, the largest is the Chota Sagar Dighi, which lies nearly half a mile north-east of the Latan Masjid. The dighi measures about 700 by 420 yards and lies north and south, as do the very great majority of tanks in Gaur, indicating that they are of Hindu origin. There is another large dighi, just behind the Piasbari dak bungalow, about a quarter of a mile in length, and 260 yards in breadth. But by far the largest of all is the great Sagar Dighi, which lies four miles by road from English Bazar just north of the Sadullapur Road. The actual measurements of this dighi excluding the banks are: Length 1,518 yards and breadth 748 yards, and 1,617 by 1,056 yards including the banks. The remains of six bathing ghats can still be traced—two on either side and one at each end. Tradition ascribes the excavation of this enormous dighi to Lakshman Sen, during the latter part of the 12th century.

Lakshman Sen, as has been mentioned, was driven out of Nabadwip at the beginning of the 13th century, and is thought to have fled to Gaur or its surroundings, and thence made his way by river to Eastern Bengal. The village of Bagbari or Ballalbari, which lies two miles west of English Bazar, just north of the Rajmahal Road, is connected with the name of Ballal Sen, who was Lakshman Sen's father. It is thought that this was originally the oldest part of Gaur, and the combined residence and fortress of the king. It is surrounded by ramparts, about 20 feet high and of enormous thickness. The inner rampart forms a rough four-sided figure rounded at the north, and based at the south on the Rajmahal Road. The length, north and south, is one mile, and the breadth along the road, three quarters of a mile. Inside the enclosed area, there is a second rampart running north and south, and roughly dividing it in half. A ditch flanks this rampart on the western side, and another 25 feet in width, runs along the northern side of the road and round the outer rampart. It is thought that the eastern half of the enclosed area was the palace, and the western, the fortress. Still further north at Pichli on the southern bank of the Kalindri river, there are remains consisting of piles of bricks with bits of glazed pottery here and there. These remains are also connected with

an early Hindu monarchy. Buchanon Hamilton mentions the fact that there was then a local tradition (at the beginning of the 19th century) that Pichli was the residence of Adisur, the Hindu king who is said to have brought the Brahmans from Kanauj to Bengal. An important inscription, dated 1249 A.D., was found here by General Cunningham but subsequently disappeared. It was rediscovered by Mr. Stapleton and has now been placed in the care of Khan Bahadur Abul Hayat Khan Chowdhury, Zamindar of Kotwali.

60. **Pandua.**—The evidence of an earlier Hindu dynasty is again found in the ruins of the city of Pandua, which lie about six miles north of Old Malda along the Dinajpur Road. The city was called Firozabad, during Muhammadan times, and had another name, Pirrua, which appears in Rennell's map. The latter is not historically correct, in view of the evidence now available. It is known from the coins struck during the reign of Raja Kans in the early 15th century that the name of the city was then Pandunagar. Buchanon Hamilton mentions the local tradition that the city was founded by a Raja of the Pandava family. This is confirmed by the existence of a small building described later on, which is still locally known as the Pandap Raja Dalan.

The most interesting discovery which was made during settlement operations, was the existence of a rampart right round the city. This discovery would have been impossible without the help of air survey photographs. In places the rampart appears to be a shelving bank overgrown with grass scrub and trees; in places it has almost disappeared under cultivation and only a slight undulation remains. Its continuity was obvious however from the air photograph, on which it stands out clearly. The rampart forms a rough square, rounded at the corners with a perimeter of about 18 miles.

Previously it had never been suspected that Pandua extended over such a large area. Buchanon Hamilton wrote: "Near the street, and amidst the heap of bricks, are many small tanks, and I am inclined to think that, in general, the town extended only a very little way, either east or west of the principal street." It is now evident that the city covered an area of about 25 square miles. The citadel must have been in the north-east corner of the enclosure at



Damdama, which is a local name of mauza Purba Binodepur. The village immediately to the west (Barijpur or more properly Burjpur) must have been named during Muhammadan times, as Burj is a Persian word meaning "fort." In this village the kanungo in charge found the remains of a "Shiv Lingam" in the ruins of an old Hindu temple. Almost all the tanks which are numerous and scattered over the whole area, lie north and south, indicating their Hindu origin.

The enclosure is roughly bisected by the Dinajpur Road, which enters the rampart at the south-western corner, and leaves it at a point in the centre of the northern rampart, where there are clear traces of an old gateway. This road evidently ran through the central part of the city, as is evident from the brick remains embedded in the earth on either side. A second road takes off from it, about half a mile south of the northern gate, and runs mainly north to Panchpara where it crosses the Gazole-Alal Road, and continues to Maina. At this point it passes into Dinajpur district, and goes on as far as Raiganj. This is undoubtedly a very old road. There are traces of metalling in places which must date to early times, as the road is not even under the control of the District Board. A third embanked road runs eastward from the gate in the centre of the eastern rampart. It is broken in places, but can be traced as far as Raniganj, five miles to the east, on the edge of the Tangan valley. Here it stops, but reappears on the opposite side of the valley, and runs eastwards along the boundary between Habibpur and Bamangola thanas. It again disappears in the Purnabhaha valley, but continues on the other side in Dinajpur district. It is said to have been an old military road running to eastern Bengal. Between the Tangan and Purnabhaha valleys, it is very clearly defined, and would be about 100 yards in width at its base. There are traces of brickwork here and there, which suggest that there may have been fortified points for garrisons along it.

In mauza Boglahagi, near Raniganj market, there are traces of what may have been a fort. It is surrounded by a deep ditch on three sides, the fourth side being protected by the Tangan river.

Another embankment, which may have been a road, runs westwards for

three miles from the south-western corner of the rampart up to the Mahananda river. On the opposite side of the river there is no trace of it. At Raniganj there are the ruins of a Hindu temple to Kali. The whole Barind to the north and east is scattered with remains of brick buildings, now largely buried, which testify to the extent of the city and its environs.

The city is entered from the south either from Old Malda by the bumpy and dusty Dinajpur Road; or by a metalled feeder road leading to the Dinajpur Road from Adina railway station. About half a mile along the latter road, one passes the rampart, which is not very conspicuous either at that point or at the point where the road from Old Malda passes it.

The first monument is the Bari Darga, which lies about two miles further on to the right of the road, and commemorates the famous saint, Hazrat Shah Jalal Tabrezi. He came from Tabriz, in Persia, and according to the historians spent a life of devotion in travelling over the eastern world. He is said to have come to Bengal from Delhi, but it is not known definitely where he died or where his tomb is situated. According to one account, it is at Sylhet; according to another, in the Maldiv Islands. The supposed tomb at Pandua, and the shrine, are maintained from the income of the Bais Hazari Wakf Estate. The estate is supposed by tradition to have been acquired by Shah Jalal himself. It is now under the management of a matwalli and a committee, who allot the expenditure for the Urs, or anniversary of the saint, the illuminations, repairs to buildings, and educational grants.

One approaches the shrine and other buildings by a path leading off the main road. At the junction with the main road there is a gateway called the Salami Darwaza. The principal building is the Jame Masjid, which is reported to have been built in 1342 A.D. by Alauddin Ali Shah over the spot where the saint used to sit in meditation. In front of the mosque are two carved pillars, which appear to be of Hindu origin; and at the northern end of the passage facing the mosque, is a stone-latticed window ornamented with most exquisite carving. To the west of the mosque is a tank called Azima Dighi, on the north bank of which is a building, named Lakhan Seni Dalan. To the east are the Bhandar Khana, or store house, and the Tanoor Khana or

cook house. The former, which includes an Astana or place of meditation, was built by Chand Khan, whose tomb is situated to the south-east of the mosque. About a quarter of a mile further on, at the opposite side of the road, is the Chhota Darga, which commemorates two saints,—Alaul Huq, and his son Nur Kutbul Alam. The tomb of the latter is covered with a canopy of cloth supported by four pillars. To the west of the tomb is the Saint's Chilla Khana, and close to it the kitchen. Immediately to the north of Alaul Huq's tomb is a three-domed mosque. There are several other tombs and smaller buildings close by, all standing at the back of a tank which fronts the main road. The shrines of these two saints are endowed from the income of the Shas Hazari Estate, another revenue-free property similar to the Bais Hazari Estate. A little further to the left hand side of the road, is the guest room which now houses the post office. Outside it are two large copper drums.

Just beyond the guest room, and also on the west side of the road, stands the Kutub Shahi Masjid, also known as the golden mosque. This is a later building than most of the other monuments at Pandua, the date ascribed being 1582. It is built of stone and brick, with a turret at each corner, and fronted by five pointed arches. The roof has fallen in, but the walls and pulpit are in good condition.

Close to the Kutub Shahi Mosque is the building called the Eklakhi mausoleum. This is an almost square building, built of brick, with walls of enormous thickness. It is surmounted by a single dome, the inner diameter of which is over 48 feet. The walls are ornamented with carving, but the brickwork is crumbling in places. It is noticeable that on the stone over the doorway is a carving of a Hindu diety, and on the other stones round the doorways are traces of figures. The materials from which the mausoleum were built were thus evidently taken from Hindu buildings. Inside the mausoleum are three tombs said to be those of Jalaluddin (the son of Raja Kans who was converted to Islam), his wife and son.

About one mile beyond, and nearly opposite to the dak bungalow, stands the great Adina Mosque, the largest and finest of all the buildings either at Gaur or Pandua. Its dimensions are: length

north to south, 507½ feet; breadth, east to west, 285½ feet. It is built partly of brick and partly of stone. It is surrounded by an outer wall of stone below and brick above which, on the western side, is elaborately carved. It is of uniform height, except at the point opposite the nave on the western side, where it rises to a greater height. There are two entrances, one at the south-east corner, the other in the centre of the western wall. Within the outer wall, there was originally a row of cloisters surmounted by domes running round the four sides of the mosque, and divided by columns into aisles. On the north, east and south, the cloisters were divided into three aisles; and on the western side there were five aisles, running up as far as the nave in the centre. Altogether there were 306 domes. The cloisters have now almost entirely fallen in, and their position is marked only by the base of basalt columns which supported them.

The prayer niche and pulpit, which stand at the western end of the nave are made of black basalt and are noteworthy for their fine workmanship. A little to the north, along the western wall, is a raised platform called the Badshah-ka-Takht, on which it is thought that the ladies of the royal family attended prayers. It is supported by large columns of black basalt, and was originally constructed of the same material, though nowadays the stone slabs have been removed and there is only a wooden platform. The three prayer niches on the west wall are remarkable for the exquisite carvings of inscriptions and designs. The domes over the Badshah-ka-Takht are still in existence.

Opposite the Badshah-ka-Takht, and on the outer side of the western wall, is a chamber, known as Sikandar Shah's chamber, which was probably added after the outer wall had been constructed. It is said that Sikandar Shah was buried in this chamber, and that when the domes, which had fallen in, were being removed, the tomb was also removed.

The mosque was built between 1364 and 1374, the inscription of Sikandar Shah being dated 1369. There is the same evidence in this mosque that the materials were taken from Hindu buildings. In the steps of the pulpit there is the head of a lion, and there are traces of Hindu idols in various prayer niches. There are two large carved lotus flowers in the western wall of the nave and other



lotus flowers in Sikandar Shah's chamber. High up on the western wall there is a lingam and outside the eastern wall there is the carved figure of a gargoyle which looks like a cross between a crocodile and an elephant.

The other remains of interest at Pandua lie within the palace area, which is situated a short distance to the south-east of the Adina Mosque. It is enclosed by an embankment, which forms an almost exact square. One enters by the centre of the western rampart. Just to the north of this point is a tank called Dhanush Dighi, about a quarter of a mile in length, and 120 yards in breadth, which is now overgrown with reeds and grass. At the entrance stands a brick tower in a rather broken condition. From its situation, at one side of the entrance, it appears that there was probably a similar tower on the opposite side, forming a complete gateway.

The first tank inside the palace area is the Sataisghara Dighi, a north by south tank of Hindu origin which measures 220 by 117 yards and lies to the east of the entrance gateway. Buchanan Hamilton refers to it as the Sataisghar, or "sixty towers," but according to the local evidence the name is certainly Sataisghara, which may mean that there were twenty-seven rooms. The name refers to the buildings, now largely overgrown with earth, which run along the northern bank of the tank. These were evidently the royal baths. At the north-west corner there is an arched room surrounded by smaller rooms, and in its wall clear traces of water pipes are visible. The baths were built into the slope of the tank, and were flanked by a gallery running along the water's edge. Possibly they are the baths referred to in the Riyaz, where it is recorded: "It is said that at that time (the accession of Firoz Shah at Delhi) Sultan Shamsuddin built a bath, similar to the Shamsi bath of Delhi. Sultan Firoz Shah who was furious with anger against Shamsuddin, in the year 754 A.H. set out for Lakhnauti and after forced marches reached close to the city of Pandua which was then the metropolis of Bengal."

A short distance to the south-east of the Sataisghara tank is the building, previously referred to, called the Pandap Raja Dalan. This, in spite of the old historical association of the name, is apparently of more recent construction than any other of the buildings in the

palace area. It is built of brick, now cracking and crumbling in places owing to the trees growing on it, and was evidently a Turkish bath, like the buildings along the Sataisghara tank. Towards the south-eastern corner is a round circular well, which is locally known as the "Jiban Kund" or well of life. Its waters were supposed to have the power of restoring the dead to life. Possibly the name refers to their healing qualities and the royal family went there to "take the waters." The well is now filled up with bricks and other debris, but people say that it was full of water until the earthquake of 1897. Close beside the Pandap Raja Dalan, there is a small pond, in which according to local evidence, a masonry building originally stood. Possibly it may have been a pavilion, similar to that mentioned below, though the pond is quite a small one.

Further to the east, there is a large tank, lying north by south, about 500 yards long and 175 yards broad. This is known as the "At-Bagh" tank, though it may also be the "Rahat Bank" tank. The oldest inhabitant, who generally turns out to air his views to visitors, mentioned that Rahat Bank was the name of the small pond close to the Pandap Raja Dalan. In either case the meaning of the word "reposeful curve" would apply to the strip of water round the pavilions which are said to have stood in these tanks. In the map of Pandua, at the end of this report, two islands have been shown in the At-Bagh Dighi. This is in accordance with local traditions, but actually only the northern island is now visible. It consists of a pile of bricks connected by an earthen ridge to the remains of a brick ghat on the western bank. The islands in the At-Bagh tank are said to have been connected by a subterranean passage just to the west of the ghat mentioned above, to a small tank locally known as the Koibutki pukur.

At the south-eastern corner of the palace area, there is a very fine tank called the Nasir Shah Dighi. It measures 374 by 278 yards and lies north by south, a fact which suggests that Nasir Shah may have re-excavated an existing tank. It is in very good condition without any trace of reed or grass, and the water is perfectly clear. It used to be full of crocodiles. There is some doubt whether it was excavated by Nasiruddin Mahamud (1442-1459) or Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah (1519-1532).

On general considerations the former may be the more probable, as the capital had shifted to Gaur before the 16th century.

The largest tank of all in the Pandua area, though now silted up as its name implies, is the Sukan Dighi, which lies a short distance to the north of the palace area in Barijpur mauza. This is obviously a very old tank, and its presence near to the village known as Damdama (the modern Purba Binodepur) suggests that the old Hindu citadel lay in this direction. It lies north and south, and measures 625 by 275 yards.

Before leaving the ruins of Pandua, reference might appropriately be made to Mr. Stapleton's recommendations for further research. These are that a careful archaeological survey should be made of the whole palace area; the entrance tower and the raised portions to the north and south of the Sataisghara tank should be systematically excavated; and the Pandap Raja Dalan should be cleared of the trees growing on it and restored. It is also suggested that trial excavations should be made in the neighbourhood of Damdama, in the hope of locating traces of the early Hindu citadel and throwing some light on a very obscure period of history.

**61. Old Malda.**—There are several buildings of interest at Old Malda, though they are, generally speaking, of a later date than those at Gaur or Pandua. The oldest is known as the Phuti Masjid or cracked mosque, a local name probably given after an earthquake. The date ascribed to it is 1495. The central dome and one of the verandah domes have fallen in and the building is in a very dilapidated condition.

The Juma Masjid is a larger building. It is comparatively modern in appearance and is well preserved. The centre is roofed by a vaulted arch and each side by a round dome. The style of architecture is different to that of the older mosques. There is not much external ornamentation, but there are well-designed carvings on the stone pillars. The date ascribed to the building is 1596.

Just to the north of Old Malda Post Office stands the Katra or rest house, where travellers with their merchandise

are supposed to have been accommodated. It is an immense structure of brick but has now fallen into complete ruin. The two gates at the north and south are still standing, but the rooms on either side of the road have almost completely disappeared.

About a hundred yards south of the Katra one comes to the river. Here there is a bathing ghat built of brick and stone which is in good state of preservation, although it is very old. It is 184 feet long and 59 feet wide.

On the opposite side of the river, at the confluence of the Kalindri with the Mahananda stands a minar, known as the Nimasarai tower. The name Nimasarai, which has now been attached to the railway station near Old Malda, is derived from the Persian word *nim*, meaning half, and *sarai* a tavern. Nimasarai was therefore the halfway tavern between Gaur and Pandua. The tower as it now stands is about 55 feet high, but the top storey has fallen down. It is a round tower built of brick, with numerous stone pillars projecting from its surface. Its origin, and the reason for its construction, are not definitely known. From its similarity to other towers, it is considered to belong to the time of Akbar; and it has been conjectured that its object was to serve as a watch tower, from which signals by fire or other means could be transmitted between Gaur and Pandua. The objection to this theory is, that if the date be correct, Pandua had ceased to be the capital for nearly a century and a half, and Gaur had recently been abandoned in favour of Tanda. There would therefore appear to be no object in constructing a watch tower at that period. The local tradition is that the tower was constructed by a merchant.

**62. Deotola.**—The village of Deotola lies on the Dinajpur Road, one and a half miles from the northern boundary of the district. Here there is a fine shrine to the saint Shah Jalal Tabrezi, whose main shrine at Pandua has already been described. It is situated just to the west of the road, and is under the care of the Bais Hazari Wakf Estate, to whose property the village belongs. The walls are decorated with excellent ornamental work. The date of the actual shrine is not known, but from the inscriptions which are found on the walls, it may belong to the late 16th century. The first of these is fixed

on the gateway at the entrance to the courtyard. It is dated 1464, and records the construction of a mosque during the reign of Barbuk Shah "in the village of Tabrizabad." The second is dated 1571, and records the building of a mosque by Sulaiman Kararani in "the blessed village of Tabrizabad known at Deotala." The third, which is in the main wall of the Chilla Khana is dated 1527 and records the erection of a mosque in 1527 in "the territory of Shaikh Jalal Mahammad Tabrizi."

There is a smaller shrine to Jalal Tabrizi in mauza Methrani. It is also under the control of the Bais Hazari Estate, which maintains a Khadem to perform the necessary religious ceremonies. It is said to have been built about the same time as the shrine at Deotala. Local tradition has it that whenever this influential and widely travelled saint visited his estates, the visit was commemorated by the erection of an asthana or shrine.

**63. English Bazar.**—Although there are no very old buildings in the town, its foundation is of some historical interest. It has been mentioned that the English factory at Malda was removed in 1680 to Makdumpur owing to the rapacity of the Fauzdar. The company purchased 56 bighas, fronting the Mahananda, on which to build their factory and offices. In the following year an additional 8 bighas were added. The plot covered what is now the Collectorate, together with the maidan south of it, the compound of the Superintendent of Police, the Collector's house and the Guru training school. The silk dealers and weavers began to settle round the factory, and a small commercial town quickly sprang up which was known as Ingrezabad. It is interesting to note that when the market was shifted from Malda to a site near the new factory in 1680, it was named Nayahat or new market by the company's merchants. The name still survives, as does the name of the district headquarters in the corrupted form Angrezabad, or English Bazar as it is now generally known. The factory was originally built partly of wood and partly of stone, but in 1770 a new building was erected, which is the present Collectorate. It is surrounded by a wall surmounted with battlements, in each corner of which is a gun emplacement. Two of the guns are now lying outside the entrance to the circuit house.

## Chapter VI—Fiscal History.

**64. Early papers.**—This section of the report must necessarily be brief. In the first place, Mada district was formed after the Permanent Settlement from portions of Purnea, Dinajpur and Rajshahi districts. No big zamindaries exist similar to the Dinajpur or Rajshahi parganas, and no connected history is available to show the gradual changes which took place between the pre-British period and the revenue survey. In the second place, old papers of some parganas which have land in the district as it stands to-day, are lodged in the Collectorates of neighbouring districts. For example, papers of Kanjole pargana are in the Dumka Collectorate, papers of Rukanpur pargana are in the Dinajpur Collectorate, and so forth.

The old papers which exist in the Malda Collectorate are the following:—

Tahut Milani.—Statements showing adjustment of rent.

Ekjai Ponchasona—Quinquennial returns of rent and area.

Ekjai Jami Jama—Annual statements of rent and area.

Hakikat Jami Jama—Statements of land and revenue.

Deha Bandi—Statements prepared by kanungoes showing the villages comprised in estates, the revenue and rate of rent.

Hakikat Chowhuddi Bandi—Statements giving the boundaries of mauzas.

These are statements which were prepared and submitted by zamindars before the Permanent Settlement. They do not appear to have been checked in any way and cannot be considered to be reliable. They are however of value as evidence in the civil courts in questions relating to title.

**65. Pre-British period.**—The pre-British revenue administration of Malda district is in substance similar to that of the remaining districts of the province of Bengal, and may be briefly recapitulated as follows:—

In the reign of the Emperor Akbar, the empire was divided into twelve main divisions called Subas of which Bengal was one. The first systematic assessment of this Suba was made by Raja Todar Mal in 1582 A.D. The assessment was based on the principle that a portion of the produce of the soil was payable to the Government, and an estimate of the produce was made after

local investigation. The settlement was made for a period of 10 years though it remained in force for 76 years. Bengal proper was subdivided into nineteen administrative divisions called Sirkars which were against subdivided into 682 fiscal and administrative units called Parganas.

The second revenue settlement was made in the year 1685 by Shah Suja, or Sultan Suja, in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb. It is probable that on this occasion there was no new settlement or assessment, but that the existing rent-roll was revised so as to include the alterations that had occurred since Todar Mal's settlement. The number of fiscal or revenue units increased owing to the natural process of subdivision, to the transfer of areas from the Suba of Orissa, and to annexations from Assam.

Subsequently, owing to the opposition of the zamindars and the non-payment of revenue, the financial condition of Bengal became so serious that it was found difficult to meet the expenses of maintaining the army. Murshid Quli Khan was deputed by Aurangzeb to make improved arrangements for the collection of revenue. He began by sending collecting agents to the different parganas, but this method proved a failure. He soon discovered that a survey of land and the preparation of a rent-roll were essential, but at the same time he found that public opinion was opposed to these measures. It was not until he became Subadar that he was able to carry out his project. In Darpnarayan, the chief Kanungo, he found an able assistant, and he also took the help of those zamindars who were not opposed to his scheme. The recalcitrant zamindars were kept confined in prison or were taken into custody, and the survey and jamabandi of the entire area were taken up immediately and finished in 1772. The papers which were prepared at this settlement were called Jamakamel Tumari. The assessment was made on a proportion of the produce of the soil and formed the basis of subsequent revenue settlements. The parganas were redistributed into thirteen chaklas in place of the Sarkars of Akbar's time. The chaklas remained administrative units during the earlier part of the British administration and formed the basis of subsequent redistribution into districts.

**66. Lists of parganas.**—Below are given two lists of parganas. The first

contains the parganas and their revenue, as shown in the Tuksum Jamuna of Sirkars Jinnatabad. The present district of Malda was comprised in this Sirkar at Akbar's time, and consisted of sixty-six parganas.

The second list gives the names of the fifty-three parganas recorded during settlement operation.

*Parganas of Sirkar Jinnatabad.*

	Dams.
Jinnatabad commonly called Gaur	7,869,292
Jawaragra, including fourteen parganas, viz:—	1,573,196
Ajore	138,925
Bazshogara	192,508
Belyr	127,300
Havelly Agra	215,260
Dohupoor	140,340
Der Serruk	112,208
Seernook	70,000
Shaballa	98,000
Shabe Sery	8,000
Ghagteer	50,200
Mudnooty	151,890
Moody Haut	6,980
Mahet	242,710
Aust Gujpur	27,515
Jewar Dersurg, sixteen mahals, viz:—	2,009,944
Owjareek Aneh	7,800
Bhetya	826,430
Bhelbori	91,560
Established markets	37,600
Derserrug	628,035
Raggamatty	1,200
Syer duties on exports and imports	170,800
Skeerpoor and Kengalpoor, two mahals	2,000
Shabazpur within the city	400
Ghiasspur	41,920
Kemelah	163,077
Ghalka Chappa	12,000
Moody Mahal	13,000
Mineli Mahal	360
Duties from the new markets	11,760
Jewardihy kote, seven mahals, viz:—	869,000
Beray Pinjer	698,600
Tagore	33,720
Dihy Kote	316,240
Delhgong	130,720
Sahabzadehpoor	84,360
Malygong	141,460
Moodypoor	61,880
The environs of Ramowty mahals	749,795
Badhtehly	207,500
Ramowty	194,767
Sehelgehrya	103,000
Sen Skekerah	93,320
Sultanpur	29,210
Singdewar	14,447
Mahonagar	107,550
The environs of Sersabad	3,192,377
Ten Mahals.	
Akbarpoor	97,360
Pardyar	8,528
Khyjirpoor	306,100
Cufwally	788,427
Giramond	3,034,380
Gerhy	2,000
Mekrayin	106,480
Hatenda and Manikpur two mahals	630,770
The environs of Maldah mahals, viz:—	
Barbackpoor	
Yusif Bazar	
Havelly Maldah	
Dheerpoor	
Sujapoor	
Ser Mandalpoor	
Sengoodya	
Sabesory	
Sahivindoooy	
Tettahpoor	
Moezzeddunpoor	

\* In this Sirkar there is a brick fort. It furnishes 500 cavalry and 17,000 infantry.

Note.—The dam was a copper coin, the value of which was 1-40th of a rupee.

*Parganas recorded in the settlement operations.*

Serial number and name of parganas.

1. Amirabad.	28. Kamalbari.
2. Akbarabad.	29. Kashinagar.
3. Akbarnagar.	30. Katuali.
4. Akbarpur.	31. Kazihata.
5. Barar.	32. Kanchan Mashida.
6. Bagmabad.	33. Iaskarpur.
7. Bhatia Gopalpur.	34. Makrain.
8. Bahadurpur.	35. Mahammadpur.
9. Bashdaul Paltabad.	36. Mahinagar.
10. Bangaon.	37. Masida.
11. Choke Deolapur.	38. Maldwar.
12. Chaura.	39. Nizampur.
13. Chandali.	40. Pardiarni.
14. Doparpur.	41. Pustaul.
15. Darsharak Gangapur.	42. Paltapur.
16. Dorapuk.	43. Rukanpur.
17. Dolwarpur.	44. Rajnagar.
18. Farakkabad.	45. Sambalpur.
19. Gangahat.	46. Shash Hazari.
20. Gopinathpur.	47. Shershabad.
21. Gaghani.	48. Sultanganj.
22. Habelitarp.	49. Sherpur.
23. Hatenda.	50. Shikarpur.
24. Islampur.	51. Shuja Nagar.
25. Jamni.	52. Wazirpur.
26. Jahangirpur.	53. Hazrapur.
27. Kankjol.	

**67. Creation of Malda district.**—

When Malda district was formed from portions of Purnea, Rajshahi and Dinajpur districts it consisted of thanas Sibganj, Kaliachak, Bholahat and Gurguribah from the jurisdiction of Purnea; thanas Bamangola, Gajole and Malda from Dinajpur; and thanas Rohanpur and Nawabganj (Chapai) from Rajshahi. The report of the Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces, dated the 18th February 1813, which explains the reasons for creation of the district, is quoted below :—

“The crime of gang robbery is of very rare occurrence in any other quarter of this district, but the number of burglaries reported to have been committed is enormous. These offences have mostly occurred in the south-eastern thanas of the district, and in the vicinity of Malda. The distance of the thana of Seebgunge from the station of Purnea is about 120 miles, and the thanas of Kuliachak, Bholahat, and Gurgureebah, which adjoin the former thana, are also so distant from the station, that it is scarcely possible for the Magistrate to exercise a sufficient control over the officers of the police.

It appears, therefore, less a matter of surprise that burglaries and minor offences should prevail to the extent noticed, than that this part of the country which adjoins the two districts of this division, in which dacoity has prevailed, should have continued free from occurrence of that evil. I am of opinion that if in any part of the country an arrangement similar to that, which has been adopted at Monghyr, be necessary or expedient,

it is particularly so in the vicinity of Malda, at which place the services of an able Assistant to the Magistrate, either of Dinajpur or Purnea, vested with the powers of Joint Magistrate, extending over the jurisdictions of thanas of Purnea above noticed also the thanas of Malda and Bamangola of Dinajpur and of Rohanpur and Chuppye of Rajsahee, would be productive of the greatest benefits to the police of those districts. Aware however of the objections which may exist to the adoption of this arrangement, it is merely suggested for the consideration of Government.”

Government at once saw the expediency of the Superintendent's recommendation and in less than a month from the date of his report Malda was formed into a Magistracy under the revenue administration of the Commissioner of Bhagalpur.

**68. British Revenue Administration.**—

The East India Company was appointed Dewan of the Provinces of Bengal and Bihar and Orissa by the Emperor Shah Alam on the 12th August 1765, from which time the duty of collecting the revenue fell on the Company, and the British revenue administration originated. Mohamud Reza Khan was appointed Naib Dewan by the Company and was in charge of the entire collection of the revenue. But a decrease in revenue collection ensued, and serious charges were levelled against him. The Council resolved to hold a thorough investigation into their finances. “Under this new administration,” says Sair Muta Qherin, “the decrease of the rents struck the administration with amazement and fear. They were confounded at the great diminution of the revenue, and at the endless minutiae in which it was involved. These men, anxious to investigate the matter to the bottom and to obtain a thorough insight in the rules and usages according to which the revenue was collected, came to the resolution of sending throughout the country one of their own nation, who should enquire what business the subject had with the Ruler; and in what relation stand the farmers to the rajas and zamindars of the country; and what these are to give to the Ruler of the land; and which and what perquisites and duties they draw and under what name they receive tributes. The choice fell on Hoosiar Jung Bahadur, Mr. George Vansittart.”



British supervisors were appointed to the various districts to enquire into the history of the province since Suja Khan's time. Under the orders of the Court of Directors the office of Naib Dewan held by Muhammad Reza Khan was abolished and the Company determined to collect its own revenue and to make its own fiscal administration.

The result was the introduction of the *ijara* system by which all estates were farmed to the highest bidders for five years, irrespective of the rights claimed by the zamindars. Many speculators stepped in, to whom the estates were knocked down at a revenue which they were unable to bear. The consequence was that the farmers indulged in every possible means of extortion, and screwed what money they could out of the tenants, leaving the estates in a bankrupt condition at the expiry of their leases. The Council soon found that this system would not work, as both the system of assessment and the collecting agency were deficient. Opinion veered in favour of settlement in perpetuity with the zamindars as of right. A special committee was appointed to enquire into the resources of the country and in 1777 amins were deputed to all districts to enquire into the resources of each estate. On this basis annual settlements were made with the zamindars ordinarily for 1777 and the three succeeding years. In spite of a large decrease in the revenue demand during this period of experiment arrears of revenue continued to accrue. In 1781 Collectors were appointed to various districts, but they remained more or less figure-heads, as settlements were made with the zamindars for varying periods not exceeding three years by special officers deputed by the Committee of Revenue.

The experiment of the Quinquennial Settlement (1772-1777) had proved the inequity and unworkability of the farming system. In 1790, the rules for the Decennial Settlement of Bengal were issued and these were declared to be permanent on March 22, 1793.

Below is given briefly the history of parganas or estates which are of importance or which present any features of interest.

**69. History of estates. — Pargana Rokanpur.**—This pargana is also known as Kanungo-Zamindary. During Todar Mal's time, ten kanungoes were appointed for the whole of the Mogul Empire. Bhagaban Mitra was the first Kanungo

of Bengal. After him his younger brother Banga Benode held the post for many years and his family came to be known by the title of Bangadhikari. Banga Benode gradually acquired settlement of many estates. His nephew Harinarain obtained a firman for one-half of the Kanungo's office in 1679 during the reign of Aurangzeb. In the same reign Murshid Kuli Khan settled the pargana with Kanungo Darpanarayana at a revenue considerably lower than the average. This may have been due to continuous under-assessment, or to a desire to reward the kanungo for good work; or to the result of undue influence on the administration. Between 1765 and 1783 the revenue fell from Rs. 3,66,215 to Rs. 2,17,356.

**70. Pargana Shersabad.**—It is said that this pargana was named after the Emperor Sher Shah. It was originally owned by the family of the kanungo known as Bangadhikari, who made many rent-free grants. These formed the subject matter of resumption proceedings, and several daimi mahals were created from them. The descendants of the proprietors mortgaged the property and borrowed from the Chowdhuri Mahajans of Ranaghat, but found it impossible to redeem the mortgage. The zamindari passed into the hands of these mahajans, but owing to the large number of co-sharer proprietors they found it difficult to manage the estate. They leased it out in Patni, bit by bit, to Mr. John James Gray who owned an indigo factory in Kaliachak. The property is now owned by the Maharaja of Mymensingh, partly in zamindari and partly in patni right. Maharaja Surja Kanta Acharjya of Mymensingh began to acquire this property in 1873. His son, the present Maharaja Sashi Kanta still owns it in zamindari and patni right. The patni still retains the mudafat of John James Gray.

**71. Pargana Kankjole.**—“The five divisions of India or the ‘five Indias’ as they were usually called by the Chinese” says—Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India* are as follows: “Northern India, Western India, Central India, Eastern India and Southern India.” At the time of the visit of Hwen Thsang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim in the 7th century A.D., India was divided into eighty kingdoms each of which would appear to have had its separate ruler, although most of them were tributary to a few of the more powerful kings.

Kankjole is one of the thirty-seven kingdoms enumerated in the division of Central India. From the journal of Hwen Thsang it appears that he travelled 67 miles eastward from the kingdom of Champa (the old name of Bhagalpur district) and came to a small district, which was then a dependency of a neighbouring kingdom near Monghyr, named Kiu-chu-u-khi-le. Cunningham believes that there may have been a transposition of two syllables in the Chinese name for Kie-kie-chu-le which is a literal transcription of Kankjole. The distance and bearing bring us to the district of Rajmahal, which was originally called Kankjole after a town of that name still in existence 18 miles to the south of Rajmahal.

In his Gazetteer of India Hamilton calls the place Cank Jole. He notes that the district of Rajmahal was formerly named Akbarnagore after its capital, and appeared in the revenue records as Cank Jole, as it was the chief military division.

Kanjole most probably comprised the whole of the hill country to the south and west of Rajmahal, with the plain lying between the hills and the Bhagirathi river as far south as Murshidabad. The circuit of this tract would be about 300 miles as stated by Hwen Thsang.

The total area of the pargana in this district now comprises  $36\frac{1}{2}$  square miles.

**72. Pargana Sash Hazari.**—This pargana is a revenue-free property, which was originally created by a firman in the reign of the Emperor Shah Suja with the object of providing funds for religious endowments and for charitable purposes. The pargana is also known as pargana Bhansari or Bhaleswari. It now forms Tauzi 160BI of the Malda Collectorate, and has an area of  $37\frac{1}{2}$  square miles.

The following is a translation of the firman by which the property was made revenue-free :—

Auspicious imperial command has been recently received to the effect that by virtue of imperial command forty-seven mauzas in Pargana Bhansari and others in Sarkar Jinnatabad were granted as Madad-mash of Sharfuddin, son of Nizamuddin, and for the expenses of the sacred Rauza (shrine) of Makdum Hazrat Noor Qutbe Alam, and beggars and the indigent. Now having appointed Shaikh Kabir the Sajjada-nashin of the said Astana (shrine) we have granted and delivered the mauzas of the said parganas as the Madad-mash of the

aforesaid person and the children of Shaikh Noor Qutbe Alam and for the expenses of the shrine and the poor and indigent, from the beginning of the kharif season of the year Taukoli, so that having used the proceeds thereof as their means of livelihood along with the poor and indigent, they should always keep themselves employed in praying for the empire. It is required that the officials and servants and jaigirdars and karories, both present and future of the said Sarkar, should do their best in perpetuating and maintaining this high command and should give up the said mauzas as per schedule, and shall in no circumstance and in no way alter and change the same. They shall not interfere with the same on account of revenue, expenses, sairs, mataharfa, begar, game, disputes with records to Zerat, orchards (illegible), kotwali, hazari, Sadi, Chowdhurai, Salami, Dihdari, Shuqqadari, Sabdui, Jalkar, Banker, all civil rights, ghats, hats, Khash-Kharid and Imperial (illegible). They should not demand a fresh sanad every year, and if they (illegible) kept anything, they should not give credence to the same, and considering insistence in this necessary and incumbent, they shall not act against and deviate from the command.

Dated the 25th Shrabān 1050 Hijri.  
The schedule.

In respect of the Madad-mash of Shaikh Kabir and the children of Noor Qutbe Alam and for the expenses of the Rauza (shrine) and the poor and indigent according to the Memorandum, dated Tuesday, the 29th Jamadi-us-Sani of the 23rd year of the auspicious Reign in corresponding with 1058 Hijri through the mission of His Excellency Mir Ala-ul-Mulk and through the intelligence of my humbleself, Dhonator Das, is to the effect that in respect of Shaikh Kabir the Sajjada-nashin of the Astana of Makdum Hazrat Noor Qutbe Alam a command of His Imperial Highness Shah Shuja was received on the 21st of Mamadi II of the 22nd year of the sacred Reign corresponding to 23rd of (illegible) 1058 Hijri to the effect that in accordance with the imperial command forty-seven villages in the parganas of Bhansari and others in the Sarkar of Jinnatabad had been fixed as the Madad-mash of Sharfuddin, son of Nizamuddin and for the expenses of the Rauza and those of the poor and indigent; that whereas we have bestowed



the Sajjada of the said Astana now upon Shaikh Kabir, we have granted the villages of the aforesaid parganas as the Madad-mash of the said person and the children of Noor Qutbe Alam and for the expenses of the Rauza and those of the poor and the indigent, from the beginning of the kharif season of the Taukoli year, so that they may keep themselves engaged in praying for the victorious empire. Memorandum written according to the attestation of the personage who received the mission (Alaul-Mulk).

**73. Pargana Bais Hazari.**—This pargana like the Sash Hazari pargana was created a revenue-free property for religious and charitable purposes. The grant was made by a firman of the Emperor Shah Alam, and commemorates the saint Syed Jalal Tabrezi. The estate is now Tauzi 23BI of the Malda Collectorate and has an area of 16½ square miles in the district. It has also land in Dinajpur district.

The following is a translation of the firman :—

The firman of Emperor Shah Alam of Delhi, dated 5th Mohoram of the 13th Year of his reign.

Syed Jalal Tabrezi

11th year.	Syed Jalal Tubrezi
Shah Alam Badshah Gazi	May his secrets be sacred
Sadul Saddel Akabat	Seal (Illegible.)
Manud Khan	1186
Illegible.	700
	13

The Mutsuddis of present and future important affairs, Choudhuries, the kanungoes, tenants, cultivators, and all inhabitants the general public of the wakf mahals in pargana Bais Hazari take note. In obedience to the command of Him who is the essence of the world, who is obeyed by the whole world, and which is bright as the sun's rays and who is exalted as the heavens, the Tauliat (trusteeship) of the sacred shrine of Qutub-UI Aquetab Hazrat Makdoom Syed Jalal Tabrezi (may his secrets be sacred) together with the wakf mahals which from old times appertain to the sacred shrine aforesaid, is granted to the shelter of nobility, high in respectability and dignity, Syed Sadaruddin. The said gentleman should, generation after generation and womb after womb, be the Mutwalli of the said

Pandua shrine, and shall possess and occupy and appropriate all the wakf mahals together with all jungles and rivers within the said pargana and everything appertaining thereto. The High Ministers, the great nobles and officials, Amlas, Mutsuddis having charge of the civil affairs, dignitaries of the political department and the present and future Karories should for ever and ever try to have this exalted command carried into effect and leave to him and his descendants the administration of the said pargana in Tauliat for ever and all times and considering him safe from change and alteration, they should not offer any interference with him on account of any kind of Peshkush such as Subadari, Fouzdari Revenue, Sair, expenses of the nature of Kilas, Mahassilana, Daraghona, Shikar, Begar, Danneme Kokaddami Suddae and Caningoi and should consider him absolutely free from all revenue and imperial demands and should not interfere therewith. They shall not demand a fresh Sanad every year and should not consider any other person his co-partner and co-sharer and should consider him the fittest person and the permanent Mutwalli of the holy shrine and shall not slight the good advices that he may offer for their good. The duties of the said Mutwalli are that he should spend the proceeds of the said wakf mahals in the performance of Urs anniversary the illumination of the shrine and the repairs and building of the same and in giving education to students according to his own discretion and should keep himself engaged in praying for the prosperity of this eternal Government.

The said trustee is not competent to grant istimrari or mokaarari or lease at a low jama to any person anything appertaining to the said pargana. They should consider this very peremptory and act according to what is written above and should not act against this imperial command.

Dated the 5th Maharram in the 13th Julas year of the reign.

In the name of Sadaruddin is granted the Tauliat of the shrine of Hazarat Makdoom Shah Jalal with the wakf mahals in Pargana Bais Hazari Sircar Jinnatabad in the province of Bengal.

**\* 74. Gangapath Islampur.**—This estate, tauzi No. 557, is a most unusual instance of a tauzi consisting entirely of water. The original grantee was

Koilo Maherain, a domestic in the household of Nawab Alivardi Khan. The grant consisted of three mauzas, and the fishery rights in the Ganges river from Pirpainti in Bhagalpur district to Suti in Murshidabad—a distance of about 100 miles. The grantee had the privilege of paying revenue at the Sadar treasury in Murshidabad. The permanent settlement was concluded with Hulash Chand, grandson of Koilo Maherain. Since 1801, the estate has been sold and settled from time to time until 1892, when Government purchased it for Re. 1 in a sale for arrears of revenue. The three mauzas had in the meantime been converted into a separate tauzi, which is also a fishery estate. In the D Register a jalkar schedule is given mentioning in particular the Ganges river, together with all its abandoned beds that exist or will hereafter exist.

When Government purchased in 1892 it was discovered that a considerable portion of the fishery had been dispossessed by the neighbouring landlords, and its proper control and management were rendered difficult by its unusual length. The estate was therefore split up. From Rajmahal northwards it went to Bihar and the rest remained in Bengal. It was decided as early as 1902 to recover the lost portions by the institution of civil suits. The first test case was filed in 1908 and was concluded in 1914. It went up to the Privy Council where it was compromised. Rs. 90,000 was obtained as mesne profits and the jalkar was recovered. The remaining cases were filed in 1928-29. One case was lost, and another was pending when the operations were closed. The approximate income for the jalkar is about Rs. 10,000. It is leased periodically in blocks.

#### 75. Thak and Revenue Surveys.—

The thak survey preceded the revenue survey. The object of the thak surveyors was to demarcate the boundaries of each estate within each mauza, and they were followed by the revenue surveyors who prepared scientifically accurate maps on a 4-inch scale, showing the mauza boundary and various internal details such as rivers, roads and homestead areas. With certain modifications the procedure was the reverse of that which is now followed. In modern settlements, the theodolite party goes to the field first and puts down a

number of traverse stations round the boundary of each manza, on the basis of which the cadastral party surveys the internal details during the following year.

The thak surveyors' methods were rather rudimentary. The boundaries of estates were demarcated by mounds of earth on the ground. The survey was they carried out by linear measurements, and by bearings taken with a prismatic compass. These bearings vary considerably in accuracy. In some cases there is a wide gap between the starting and finishing points, due to the accumulation of error while measuring angles: in others, the results are very much more accurate. On the body of the map were shown a field-book giving the magnetic bearings, and a statement showing the number and area of the principal estates, together with the "chaks" or blocks of land, and their areas, appertaining to other estates.

Three kinds of thak map exist in Malda. Firstly there is the Lata Katha Thak, which was prepared by measuring the mauza boundary with a rod (Latha). This method was used in cases where the land of the entire mauza belonged to one estate. The maps are practically hand sketches of the mauza boundaries and were of no practical assistance to the settlement staff. As the Lata Katha Thak was the most common form of map, it was decided not to follow the usual practice of supplying kanungoes with copies of thak maps.

The second kind of thak map is the mahalwar. This system of survey was adopted in cases where several estates had land in one mauza. The principal estate was shown as the "abasistha" tauzi, and the chaks, or blocks of land, appertaining to the other estates were approximately surveyed, and shown with their respective areas in the thak statement. The survey of the chaks was frequently inaccurate. In cases where there had been no change of possession since the thak maps were prepared, the shapes of the chaks agreed fairly well with the cadastral survey, but the position of the chaks seems to have been put in largely by guess work.

The third kind of thak map is the khetbut, which was surveyed field by field in cases where the number of estates in one mauza was unusually large, and the chaks were small and

intermingled. Such cases were very few in number.

The revenue survey maps were prepared by theodolite survey and in addition to the details mentioned above the maps contain the total area of each mauza, the area under cultivation, the number of homesteads and ploughs, and the standard of local measure. The last item varies from pargana to pargana and has been a fruitful source of disputes between landlords and tenants. A fuller account of this has been given in the section on the land tenure system. In Malda the earliest revenue survey of a few isolated parganas was taken up in 1840-41, 1841-42 and 1844-45. The major portion of the district was surveyed in 1848, when it was also found necessary to resurvey some of the parganas previously taken up as no connecting stations could be found, and discrepancies were discovered, many of which were material. Mr. Pemberton, the Revenue Surveyor, was instructed to reject the earlier maps if he found them inaccurate. He allowed parganas Amirabad and Kantabaree to remain as surveyed by Mr. Fitzpatrick but was obliged to resurvey pargana Kutwally. In the case of this pargana it was decided to adopt the survey of 1848 and on this basis amalgamation proceedings were carried out and boundary disputes were decided.

**76. Early resumptions.**—After the assumption of the Dewani by the East India Company, various attempts were made to resume lands held under invalid titles. The invalid lakherajs, *i.e.*, revenue-free grants held on invalid titles, or grants made after the assumption of the Dewani, were the first to be taken up. No very satisfactory procedure was followed until the passing of Regulation II of 1819. Then in 1836 the Board of Revenue ordered that *taufir* and diara lands should be measured and their boundaries demarcated. But even after the passing of Act IX of 1847 the principle of equivalent areas was followed in resuming alluvial formation. By this method, the revenue to be assessed on an estate after a diara survey was calculated on the actual area found, that is, the area resulting from diluvion or alluvion since the previous settlement. For example, an estate might have been shown previous to the diara survey as having an area of 2,000 bighas. Supposing that prior to the survey an area

of 200 bighas had diluviated in one part of the estate, and an area of 400 bighas had accreted to another part, the net resulting area would be 2,200 bighas, and on this area the revenue would be assessed. This procedure was entirely incorrect. As has been described in the section of this report on diara work, it has not only presented many difficulties, but has resulted in a loss of revenue which might otherwise have been claimed by Government. The proper course in the example given above would be to allow abatement of revenue, if claimed by the proprietors for the diluviated area, and to assess to revenue the entire accretion lying outside the original limits of the estate. The correct procedure was only appreciated after the Privy Council decision in the Lopez case. This important decision laid down that only the accretions outside the actual limits of the estate, and not those outside an equivalent area could be assessed to revenue. The earliest diara resumptions in Malda were the Doem Kanun resumptions, which were taken up between 1833 and 1836 along the river Mahananda. The resuming officers started a number of proceedings in respect of big tracts along the river bank which had the appearance of chars, but as they had no previous maps with which to make a comparison the majority of the cases were dropped or dismissed.

In 1866-67 the special Ganges diara survey was carried out. This survey took place before the Privy Council's decision in the Lopez case, and the principle of equivalent areas was again followed in making resumptions.

The resumption proceedings of this important survey could not unfortunately be found anywhere during the settlement operations, although every possible effort was made to trace them. It is believed that a considerable area which was released on the basis of equivalent areas could now be resumed on the ground that it lies outside the actual limits of the settled lands of the estates. But as the proceedings were not available, there was no option but to resume those accretions from the river bed which are common to the special Ganges survey and the revenue survey. In other words it had to be assumed that everything that was land according to the Ganges survey had been already resumed.

## Chapter VII—Land tenure and relation of landlord and tenant.

**77. Tenures.**—The system of land tenure is extremely simple. In many estates the cultivating tenants pay rent direct to the zamindars. In others, where tenures exist, there is little sub-infeudation, and it is uncommon to find more than two grades of tenure. The larger first grade tenures are generally known as putnis, but this is in most cases a misnomer as very few are actually governed by Regulation VIII of 1819. The largest putnis are those which were taken for indigo cultivation in Sibganj, English Bazar, Kaliachak and Manik-chak thanas by Mr. Gray and Mr. Hennessy.

The number of ordinary tenures is considerable, but the statistics given in a later section of this chapter show that their average area is only about 8 acres. About two-thirds of them are permanent and held on fixed rents or at fixed rates of rent, and the remainder are permanent and liable to enhancement of rent. These tenures are commonly known as jotes, and their sub-tenures as dar-jotes. Permanent tenures are called maurashi jotes, and those held on fixed rents kaemi maurashi, or istimrari jotes.

In some cases tenancies which were claimed by their occupants to be raiyati holdings were recorded as tenures on the ground that they were largely sublet and were in possession of non-cultivating tenants, or that they were over 100 bighas in area. The under-tenants were in consequence recorded as raiyats.

There is a comparatively small number of temporary tenures, or ijaras. They are leases for the collection of rent and expire when the period of the lease terminates. Their average area is small, but there is one very large ijara held by the Raj Banaili estate. The area lying in Malda is small: the greater portion is situated in Bihar.

**78. Rent-free grants.**—Rent-free grants fall into two classes. The first class consists of grants for charitable or religious purposes. They are permanent and heritable. Such grants are rarely found in the more recently cultivated area of the Tal or the Barind. In a few cases taidads or sanads were forthcoming, but the majority of tenancies were recorded rent-free on the ground of

long possession without payment of rent. The following kinds of rent-free grant are found:—

Bromhottar.

Debottar.

Mahatran.

Pirpal.

Aima.

The last named is a grant made to pious Muhammadans: the others are well known.

The second class consists of chakran, or service tenancies. They are not permanent, heritable, or transferable, and their existence continues so long as the service is required by and rendered to the grantor. The area covered by this class of tenancy is small. The following chakran tenancies are found:—

Napit—barber.

Dhobi—washerman.

Paik—peon.

Astoprohari—a watchman (literally one who works for eight "prahars" or 24 hours).

Pujari—for the performance of pujas.

Khadem—a caretaker of a Darga or saint's grave.

**79. Occupancy rights.**—Out of 444,646 agricultural tenancies 407,061 or slightly more than 91·5 per cent. have occupancy rights.

Although this right is heritable some landlords such as the Kansat estate, the Chowdhury estate of English Bazar, the Taherpur Raj estate, the Talanda estate and others realise mutation fees for inheritance. There is usually a flat rate of one year's rent. In the Barind it was found that some landlords were realising 4 times the rent of the purchased land before granting rent receipts in addition to the transfer fee of 20 per cent. of the sale price. In addition a rupee or two had to be paid to the landlord's staff.

In the Sanyal estate of Kansat, the Taherpur Raj, the Talanda estate and others no mutation is granted till the purchaser agrees to allow his land to be measured and to have the old rent enhanced. Such measurements are frequently made.

In the Chanchal estate salami was paid for excavation of tanks, and in almost all estates salami was realised for erecting pucca buildings before the amended Bengal Tenancy Act of 1929.

Produce-paying tenants are few. They have been recorded as raiyats or under-raiyats as the case may be. Tenancies in which the rent is paid partly in kind and partly in cash are still fewer. Occupancy holdings were freely transferred before the Bengal Tenancy Act was amended in 1929 and the rate of the transfer fee was a subject for mutual agreement between landlord and tenant. It is noteworthy that in the Chanchal estate, the transfer fee was only two annas in the rupee, so that the tenants have to pay increased transfer fees under the amended Act. Since the amendment however there has been a marked decrease in the number of sales, and there is no doubt whatever that this is due to attempts to avoid the payment of transfer fees. Many cases were found in which sales were made by oral agreement, or by unregistered documents. In such cases the purchasers were recorded as "Kharid dakhalkar". Another method was to transfer by granting a sub-lease and making a negligible increase in the rent. Cases were also found in which the parties to the transaction applied jointly to the landlord for mutation of the purchaser's name. The landlord accepted a transfer fee less than 20 per cent. of the sale price, and granted a rent receipt to the purchaser.

The law, as it stands, is really anomalous. If occupancy holdings are transferable, their transfer must logically be free, and not subject to the payment of any fee.

**80. Under-raiyats.** — Ordinarily under-raiyats do not acquire occupancy rights by custom, while those who have been recognised by their landlords to have permanent and heritable rights were few. The majority of under-raiyati holdings are of comparatively recent origin, but even under-raiyats who have been in possession for 30 or 40 years are in some cases still executing kabuliyats periodically. Of the total number of under-raiyats 15 per cent. have been recorded as having occupancy rights, and 74 per cent. were found to have been in possession for 12 years, or to have homesteads on their holdings. In such cases an entry has been made in the incidence column of the khatians.

that section 48C, Bengal Tenancy Act, is applicable. The remaining 11 per cent. of the under-raiyats could not claim the protection afforded by that section. They were recorded as "korfa", and the year was recorded in their khatians from which their tenancies commenced. This will enable them to claim the protection of section 48C, Bengal Tenancy Act, after 12 years from the commencement of their tenancies.

Salami is not paid by under-raiyats at the time of settlement, and the raiyat landlords make no objection to under-raiyati holdings being heritable. Sales and mortgages are not numerous. Sometimes sales are acknowledged by the raiyat landlords on payment of salami, the amount of which is fixed by mutual agreement. Orchards are sometimes planted by under-raiyats in the vicinity of their homesteads. If an under-raiyat leaves the holding he is permitted to sell or remove the huts but not to cut down the trees.

In the neighbourhood of English Bazar and Gaur under-raiyats enjoy the same privileges as occupancy raiyats. In some cases they have been granted mokarari pattas and have erected buildings and excavated tanks. In such cases salami is invariably paid. When the occupancy right is sold, attempts are often made to eject the under-raiyats; but the intention of the purchasers is generally to enhance the under-raiyat's rent, rather than to take their holdings khas. Such enhancements are usually moderate and are made by mutual agreement.

The rate of rent is more than double the average rent of occupancy raiyats. The total area in possession of under raiyats is 13,536 acres and the total rent Rs. 75,913, giving an incidence of Rs. 5-9-9 per acre.

**81. Adhiars.**—The word "adhi" means half, and an adhiar one who pays half of the crop. The tenants do not provide ploughs or cattle for their adhiars, nor do they provide any accommodation or food. When seed is supplied by the tenant he is entitled to half the bye-product, but if the adhiar supplies the seed he takes the entire bye-product. The amended Act of 1929 set at rest the contention regarding the status of adhiars and reduced them to the position of agricultural labourers. Fortunately the adhiars in Malda had not



acquired any rights by custom and were not therefore adversely affected by the change in the law. Up to the stage of attestation their names were noted in the remarks column on the back of *khātians*, but on subsequent enquiry it was found that in no case had an *adhiar* been held to be a tenant by the civil court, or had been admitted as a tenant in a document. Their names were therefore scored through and were not printed in the final record. They have however been retained for future reference in the *khāsra*, which may prove useful in cess revaluation operations, or for statistical purposes.

Cases were commonly found in which the lands cultivated by *adhiars* were previously their occupancy holdings but had been sold up in rent or mortgage sales. This is particularly noticeable in the Barind where the *Santals* have lost their occupancy rights over a large area. In a few cases it was found that *adhiars* had been cultivating the same land for several generations. In other cases *adhiars* were found to have erected homesteads on part of the *Adhi* land. They were recorded as being in permissive possession, and a separate plot was made for the homestead. In many cases *adhiars* represented the tenants at all stages of the settlement operations and produced their masters' rent receipts and documents. Cases came to notice in which *adhiars* were made to execute *kābuliyats* in which they were described as labourers. Many of them had their own *rai-yati* holdings in addition to the land which they cultivated in *adhi*.

It is a general complaint that *adhiars* often do not pay the full half of the produce. The weaker the tenant, the greater the encroachment on his half share. On the other hand if the tenant insists on taking rather more than his fair share he is likely to become unpopular locally, and to find it difficult to secure an *adhiar* in the following year.

Besides the *adhi* system a few cases of "*takuthi*" were found. According to this system the tenant receives only one-third of the produce. The land is generally of inferior quality or jungly, and labourers do not agree to cultivate at the usual *adhi* rate.

**82. Special tenancies.**—*Hal Hashila*.—This is akin to the *Utbandi* system and is common in Ratua police-station, particularly in villages Nijgaon and

Pukhuria. No right of occupancy normally accrues in such land. The cultivator pays the rent only for the actual area cultivated each year, and the rent for each crop is distinct. No written agreement is entered into, beyond a statement on the back of the rent receipt showing the area cultivated and the crop. The system indicates that the land is not of good quality and that it is necessary to keep it fallow for a year or two in order to restore its fertility.

*Mushakkos*.—This is a kind of tenancy found in Manikchak and Ratua thanas. The holdings often consist of homesteads and orchards. The tenants attempted to prove that *mushakkos* is another name for *mokarari*. They produced rent receipts covering 20 years and showing that the rent had not been altered during that period. The presumption which arose in their favour was rebutted by the production of evidence showing that there had been a change in the rent after the Permanent Settlement. There was no evidence to show that the word *mushakkos* is a synonym of *mokarari*.

*Mubash*.—This is a peculiar tenancy which exists under the Raj Banaili estate. Many years ago, plots were leased to tenants free of rent for the construction of homesteads, on the condition that they would live there and bring the surrounding land under cultivation. The landlord objected to the land being recorded rent free on the ground that no *sanads* or grants exist, and that the tenants hold other *jamai* lands in the village. The dispute was decided in favour of the tenants and the lands were recorded rent free. It was clear that the estate had made these rent free grants as an inducement to the tenants to bring under cultivation land which was then jungle.

*Chhut Jamas*.—*Chhut jamas* are the same as *phalkar jamas* and are found mostly in the Chanchal estate. Mango trees on *khās* land used to be leased to tenants, but subsequently when the *khās* land was settled the trees remained in possession of the tenant with whom the *phalkar* settlement had been made. The *phalkar* rents were mentioned in rent receipts and in some cases were realised even after the trees had ceased to exist. Such rents were in contravention of section 23A, Bengal Tenancy Act, and were cut down.

*Section 22/2, Bengal Tenancy Act.*—The number of Khatians under this section is not large. Some anomalous cases occurred as a result of the amendment to the section in which a proprietary interest had to be recorded under a proprietor. For example, A, B and C are joint proprietors of a estate without any division of land. C purchases an occupancy holding held jointly under A, B and C in a rent sale. C being a proprietor retains that status under the amended Act in respect of the purchased holding and has to be recorded as "malik" under "malik".

**83. Non-agricultural holdings.**—Many non-agriculturists such as lawyers, service-holders and shop-keepers reside in English Bazar town and possess only a homestead plot. In the course of time some of them acquired garden or orchard land in an adjoining mauza, and at the time of attestation claimed occupancy rights under section 182, Bengal Tenancy Act. The High Court rulings on this section are rather difficult, but the common sense view clearly is that persons who have no connection with agriculture and hold a homestead for some purpose other than agriculture, cannot claim to be occupancy raiyats merely because they have subsequently acquired horticultural land in an adjacent village. The great majority of such cases were recorded as non-agricultural, the entry being "dakhalkar" in all cases; with "basat proja" for homesteads and "chandina" for shops.

One anomaly regarding homesteads is that the occupant is recorded as "dhakalkar" if he holds under a proprietor or tenure-holdure, but as an under-raiyat if he holds under a raiyat, even though his homestead is held for purposes entirely unconnected with agriculture.

**84. English Tauzis.**—The English Tauzis are small estates situated in the vicinity of Gaur in English Bazar and Kaliachak thanas. The land of these estates originally belonged to several permanently-settled estates, but was set apart by Government between 1796 and 1801 as jaigirs, or revenue-free grants to sepoys in lieu of compensation, or in lieu of pensions to invalided sepoys. A letter written by the Collector of Purnea in 1823 states that several large blocks of land were purchased by Government,

but that the procedure laid down in Regulation 43 of 1793 was not followed. When the system of regular pay for sepoys was introduced, the jaigir lands were resumed in the year 1834, and between 1842 and 1852, and were permanently settled with the heirs of the jaigirdars. Previously Government used to pay the rent of these lands to the original proprietors, but after resumption, malikana was substituted as a form of compensation to the proprietors. The occupants of the jaigir lands had therefore to pay the revenue assessed together with malikana to Government, and Government was to pay the malikana to the proprietors. It appears however that no malikana was claimed or paid until 1917, when several claims were filed in connection with English Tauzis No. 395-410 which are situated in mauza Krishnapur. After lengthy correspondence (the relevant letters have been included in the appendix) it was decided by the Commissioner that the right to receive malikana is distinct and separable from the proprietary right, and would not pass in the event of a sale for arrears of revenue. It was ordered that claims to malikana must therefore be established by derivation from the original proprietor of mauza Krishnapur as distinct from the present recorded proprietors.

The position regarding malikana is very involved and had not been straightened out during settlement operations. As the Collector of Purnea aptly observed in 1823 :—"the whole business is involved in confusion and cannot, I suspect, be cleared up even by a reference to the Regulating Officer, because Regulation 43 of 1793 has not been punctually observed by any of his predecessors".

Much difficulty was experienced in tracing the land of these estates, as it had been mixed up in many cases with the land of other tauzis. All the tauzis were ultimately recorded with the exception of two. These are Tauzi No. 447 with an area of 4.44 acres and revenue of Rs. 1-13; and Tauzi No. 492 with an area of .21 acre and revenue of As. 10.

**85. Police tax mahals.**—There are two police tax mahals in Rohanpur, police-station Gomastapur, and Khirki, police-station English Bazar. These are Tauzis No. 14 and 177 with an area



of 92·53 and 3·87 acres respectively. No papers are available to show when they were formed, but it seems that the thanadari lands were assessed and formed into police tax mahals out of Tausis Nos. 13 and 176 at the time of the decennial settlement. They were transferred from Rajshahi to Malda with the parent estate in 1834. In 1882 it was proposed either to amalgamate the police tax mahals with their parent tausis, or by amicable arrangement with the proprietors of the parent tausis to assign specified land for the police tax mahals with the object of securing Government revenue in case of a possible default. A survey was made in 1887 and the lands of the police mahals were separately mapped on the basis of the papers supplied by the proprietors of the parent tausis. The land for Tausi No. 177 was assigned in mauza Khirki, police-station English Bazar, and that of Tausi No. 14 in 12 mauzas covering an area of 401 acres. An appeal was made against the demarcation in the case of Tausi No. 14 by an auction purchaser of the present tauzi on the ground that police tax lands were not included within the mauzas which he had purchased. The appeal was allowed and the police tax land for Tausi No. 14 was ultimately assigned in mauza Rohanpur with an area of 177 acres. The areas recorded during settlement were:—

Tausi No. 14—92·53 acres in Mauza Rohanpur.

Tausi No. 177—3·87 acres in Mauza Khirki.

**86. Measures.**—The unit of local measures is the bigha, consists of one rashi square. A rashi is equal to 80 cubits. The bigha is subdivided into 20 kathas and the katha into 16 chataks. Papers relating to the rashi are kept by parganas in the collectorate. The length of the cubit is maintained either by a piece of split bamboo or on paper. In the Revenue Survey the bigha was described in square yards. During the cadastral stage there were innumerable disputes, especially in the Barind, over the length of the cubit and, the rashi. The standard rashi of 80 cubits is in force in most estates although the pargana rashis in many cases are 90 or 100 cubits in length. The cubit also varies considerably in different parganas. The tenants based their claims to the

pargana cubit or rashi on the entries made in the Revenue Survey maps. The landlords rebutted most of these claims by the production of measurement papers and kabuliyats executed by the claimants or their predecessors in interest.

Different measures and weights are prevalent in different areas for various commodities. The seer varies from 60 to 100 tolas and prices vary according to weights. The reason for such a wide divergence in weights is not definitely known, but it is said that originally it was connected with the cost of transporting commodities to the various markets.

**87. Zamindari accounts.**—The head office or sadar cutchery is generally held in the village where the landlord resides. The mufassal or outlying cutcheries are held at convenient centres and are known as tahsil cutcheries. A manager, and in some cases a landlord helped by manager, supervises the management of the estate. In the bigger and better managed estates there are the following sections in the sadar cutchery:—

(1) The jama or account section deals with mutations, settlements, accounts and annual audit, and controls the mufassal cutcheries in respect of collections and remittances.

The karcha is the general register of tenancies. One page is allotted to each tenancy and a new register is opened every year. Transactions are noted from day to day and the number and year of rent receipts are noted against each transaction.

The Jamawashil Baki is prepared annually and shows the state of each tenancy's account at the end of the year. It is a complete statement which is prepared on the basis of the Karcha.

The mufassal tahsildars submit at the time of annual audit counterfoils of rent receipts, unused rent receipt forms, the amdani or daily cash book, and a list of defaulters against whom legal action is to be taken.

(2) The Jarip or survey section deals with maps, chittas, rent rolls, khatians, measurements, reports, on mutation, settlements, encroachments, alluvion, diluvion and connected miscellaneous matters.

(3) The law section is concerned with the filing, conducting and settling of suits, including the execution of decrees.

(4) The Munshikhana deals with correspondence.

(5) The Sumar or cashier deals with the daily cash book, jama kharach (account register) and annual returns.

(6) The Mahafez Khana is the Record Room.

In well managed estates they are systematically divided and there is a clerk in charge of one or more sections. An annual audit of collections and remittances is carried out at the sadar office in presence of the tahsildars before orders to start collection for the new year are issued.

Each tahsil cutchery has a specified area comprising a group of villages. Rent collection is the principal work. The agent is called the gomasta or tahsildar. A naib is in charge of a larger area and controls several tahsildars. His staff consists of one or more tahsildars, mohorriars, peons and sometimes a guard who also may do menial work or officiate as a peon. The following papers are maintained in these cutcheries:—

- (1) Rent receipts.
- (2) Jamawashil baki.
- (3) Karcha.
- (4) Rokar (or cash book).
- (5) Bakijai or arrear list.
- (6) Amdani or daily cash book.

The percentage cost of estate management is generally higher than that of Government management. Though their pay is low compared with that of Government tahsildars, their standard of work is inferior and consequently their number is often excessive.

**88. Statistics of land tenure.—***Estates.*—At the time when the district was created there were 235 estates on the revenue roll. By 1873 the number had increased to 560, as appears from Hunter's report, and the present number is 750. The increase is due to transfers from other districts, partitions and resumptions. The number of revenue-paying estates created during settlement

operations was 88, and the number of estates found missing was 19. A list of missing estates has been given in Appendix X.

The following statement shows the different classes of estates with their areas and percentages:—

Class of estate.	No.	Area.	Percentage of total area.
Revenue-paying estates	750	1,022,349·65	80·50
Permanently-settled estates ..	626	976,904·72	76·92
Government estates ..	19	13,750·60	1·08
Temporarily-settled estates ..	105	31,694·25	2·50
Revenue-paying foreign estates ..	150	160,691·77	12·65
Revenue-free estates (B. I.) ..	174	49,130·15	3·83
Revenue-free estates (O. B. I.) ..	Nil	Nil	
Revenue-free estates (B. II) ..	15	5,339·32	·44
Revenue-free foreign estates (B. I.) ..	7	474·40	·04
Area outside the record ..		12,552·05	·99
Area acquired for public purposes ..		19,175·85	1·51
		<hr/> 1,269,723·19*	

The foreign estates which have land in Malda consist of 150 tauzis belonging to the following districts:—

Rajshahi	... 76
Dinajpur	... 29
Murshidabad	... 19
Purnea	... 18
Santal Parganas	... 4
Bogra	... 3
Birbhum	... 1

A list of these estates has been given in Appendix IX.

The following statement shows the various classes of estates with their areas, revenue and the incidence of revenue. In the case of the foreign estates the incidence of revenue cannot

\*There is a small discrepancy, which cannot be reconciled, between this and the Milan Khara figure.

be shown as it is not possible to calculate the proportionate revenue for the portions of the estates that lie in Malda.

latter consist almost entirely of small rent-free grants for religious or charitable purposes, and are commonly given in adhi.

Description.	No.	Area in acres.	Revenue.	Incidence per acre.
			Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Permanently-settled estates	626	976,904 ·72	3,83,694 14 9½	0 6 3
Foreign estates .. ..	150	160,691 ·77	9,46,584 13 6	..
Revenue-free estates (B. I.) ..	174	49,130 ·15	....	....
Government estates ..	19	13,750 ·68	....	....
Temporarily-settled private estates ..	105	31,694 ·25	33,583 12 8	1 1 2
Revenue-free estates (O.B.I.) ..	Nil	..	....	....
Revenue-free estates (B. II.) ..	15	5,339 ·32	....	....
Revenue-free foreign estates (B. I.)	7	474 ·40	....	....
O. B. III. .. ..	..	Nil.	.	.
Outside the record .. ..	..	12,552 ·05		

The area in the khas possession of proprietors is 107,308 acres, or 8·45 per cent. of the total area. This includes village roads, small rivers and waterways below 3 chains in width, beels, tanks, land used by the public and lands let out in adhi. The statistics are available in Appendix I.

**89. Tenures.**—The area held by the principal classes of tenureholders is given in the following table. The figures include the Rajshahi diara area :—

Class of tenure.	No.	Total area in acres.	Average area in acres.
Permanent tenure-holder on fixed rents or rates ..	6694	58,770	8·77
Permanent tenure-holder not on fixed rents or rates ..	2,963	21,992	7·43
Temporary tenure-holders ..	421	1,917	4·55
Rent-free tenure-holders ..	6,607	5,219	·79

The figures do not call for any comment except that the proportion of mokarari tenures is as much as two-thirds of the rent-paying tenures, and the rent-free tenures are unusually small. The

**90. Occupancy raiyats.**—The table below shows the average area of occupancy holdings. The figures in this and the following tables include the Rajshahi diara area :—

Thana.	Average area in acres.
1. Kharba	... 2·00
2. Harishchandrapur	... 2·32
3. Habibpur	... 3·40
4. Malda	... 2·78
5. Gajole	... 3·00
6. Bamangola	... 2·40
7. English Bazar	... 1·40
8. Kaliachak	... 1·40
9. Bholahat	... 1·40
10. Gomastapur	... 2·80
11. Nachole	... 3·56
12. Sibganj	... 2·05
13. Ratua	... 2·45
14. Manikchak	... 2·40
15. Nawabganj	... 2·25

The figures indicate that the average area is largest in Nachole, Gajole and

Habibpur thanas where extensive areas have been reclaimed comparatively recently. When the area in a tenant's possession is too large for cultivation by his family, or is situated at an inconveniently long distance from his home, it is either sold, wholly or partly, or sublet; and in the case of holdings situated at a distance an exchange is often effected with another tenant. When holdings are sublet, the under-raiyat sometimes pays the rent for the occupancy holding direct to the landlord, and the balance to the raiyat.

In the statement below are shown the number of holdings of the various classes of cash-paying raiyats and their respective areas:—

Class of raiyat.	Number of holdings.	Total area thus held (acres).	Percentage of the total area surveyed.
Raiyats at fixed rent or rate of rent ..	20,633	58,299	4.58
Settled and occupancy raiyats (on cash rent)	399,351	912,768	71.87
Service raiyats ..	2,319	4,583	.36
Rent-free raiyats ..	3,516	4,594	.36
	425,819	980,244	

The average area of raiyati holdings works out at 2.30 acres.

The table below gives the percentage of raiyati holdings of various areas:—

Below one acre	... 44
One acre to two acres	... 24
Two acres to five acres	... 22
Five acres to ten acres	... 7
Ten acres to twenty acres	... 2.40
20 acres to 50 acres	... .57
Above 50 acres	... .03

In the table below is shown the incidence of rent per acre paid by raiyats

holding at fixed rents, and by occupancy raiyats:—

Thana.	Raiyats at fixed rent or rate of rent.			Occupancy raiyats.		
	1	2		3		
		Rs.	a. p.	Rs.	a. p.	
Kharba ..	..	2	1 1	2	11 9	
Harishchandrapur ..	..	2	13 6	3	1 5	
Habibpur ..	..	1	7 6	1	15 3	
Malda ..	..	0	12 7	1	12 7	
Gajole ..	..	1	2 11	1	8 5	
Bamangola ..	..	2	0 6	2	1 6	
English Bazar ..	..	2	0 4	1	14 11	
Kaliachak ..	..	1	15 8	2	0 8	
Bholahat ..	..	2	2 10	2	3 0	
Gomastapur ..	..	1	1 10	1	15 11	
Nachole ..	..	1	14 0	2	8 4	
Sibganj ..	..	1	5 11	1	13 2	
Ratua ..	..	1	5 4	2	1 3	
Manikchak ..	..	1	0 9	3	3 6	
Nawabganj ..	..	1	7 9	2	2 11	
Rajshahi Diara area ..	..	1	9 9	2	8 7	
Average for the district ..	..	1	10 3	2	4 2	

The rate of rent varies with the density of the agricultural population and the consequent demand for land. Except in thanas Harishchandrapur and Manikchak the average rent is very low in comparison with that prevailing in neighbouring districts and even in these thanas it is most moderate. The rent in Harishchandrapur and Kharba thanas increased about 30 years ago when a great demand for land was created by the influx of a large number of Muhammadans from the opposite side of the Ganges and of some Santals and Oraons from the Santal Parganas. A few years ago new settlements were being made at Rs. 3-12 per acre. Immigration has now ceased and there is no great demand for land. It is therefore probable that the rate of rent for new settlements will decrease. In Manikchak thana the success of the crop depends upon a normal flood in the Ganges. A flat rate of Rs. 3 per acre was agreed upon by the landlords and tenants. The higher rate in Nachole thana is due mainly to illegal enhancements of rent. The landlords responsible are the Taherpur Raj Estate, the Talonda Estate, the Estate of Jamini Kanto Roy of Rohanpur and other smaller estates. The enhancement was nearly double the existing rent and as has been previously described, the enhancements could not in many cases be cut down..

The lowest rate prevails in Gajole and Malda thanas where the land is mostly high and undulating, or situated in the dōbas.

**91. Under raiyats.**—The number of cash-paying under-raiyati holdings of all classes is 52,600, which represents 12·3 per cent. of the number of raiyati holdings. The number of under-raiyats with rights of occupancy is fairly small: the great majority come under section 48(c), Bengal Tenancy Act; and in the Rajshahi diara area which was surveyed before the amended Act of 1929, 13 per cent. of the under-raiyats were recorded with occupancy rights and the remainder without.

The incidence of rent is high compared with that of the rent for occupancy holdings. The following table shows the incidence of rent, and the area of under raiyati holdings. The average rate of rent works out at Rs. 5-9-11 per acre which is almost two and a half times the rate for occupancy holdings:—

*Average rate of rent of under-raiyati holdings.*

Thana.	Area.	Rent.			Incidence.		
		Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Kharba ..	602·10	5,545	11	6	9	3	5
Harishchandrapur ..	867·69	5,579	15	10	6	6	10
Habibpur ..	1,238·42	4,527	14	9	3	10	6
Malda ..	379·65	2,055	9	7	5	6	7
Gajole ..	1,068·61	5,282	3	9	4	15	0
Bamangola ..	302·62	1,549	5	8	5	1	9
English Bazar ..	1,486·06	8,307	13	5	5	9	5
Kaliachak ..	339·02	1,651	9	1	4	14	0
Bholahat ..	242·34	1,397	5	6	5	12	4
Gomastapur ..	1,779·83	10,206	8	4	5	11	9
Nachole ..	583·82	2,967	5	0	5	1	3
Sibganj ..	2,607·23	15,948	1	11	6	1	10
Ratua ..	1,013·27	4,603	7	4	4	8	8
Manikohak ..	123·54	662	8	6	5	5	6
Nawabganj ..	901·60	5,627	10	5	6	3	9
Rajshahi diara area ..	6,447·78	36,561	3	11	5	6	10
Total	19,983·58	1,12,474	6	6	5	9	11

**92. Acquired land.**—The area of land acquired under the Land Acquisition Act for public purposes is 19·176 acres. Village roads have been entered in the khatians of their respective union boards and are excluded. There are several Imperial roads which have been given a separate tauzi number (B. II 14) and are also excluded. There are other old roads existing from before 1850, which have been recorded under Government. Lands held permissively by public bodies or Government departments have been treated as the property of the owners and have not been included in the statistics.

**93. Area outside the records.**—The total area outside the record is 12,552 acres. It consists of all rivers over 3 chains in width. In accordance with the usual practice, these have been recorded in special khatians outside the record without any tauzi number. The total area of water according to the milan khasra statement is 79,417 acres. It therefore follows that 66,865 acres are covered by small streams, beels and tanks.

**94. Assets of the district.**—Figures are given below to indicate what are the assets of the district. The cash rent paid by all classes of raiyats is an actual figure, and the average incidence of rent for occupancy holdings has been taken as the value for areas which are held by raiyats on produce rents, or partly on cash and partly on produce rents. The annual value of lands in possession of proprietors and tenureholders is an estimate, and its accuracy is doubtful. To these figures would have to be added the income from various sairats. This income is not known as figures were not collected.

The following are the various kinds of sairats:—

- Hat Tola.
- Bazar.
- Ganj.
- Ferries.
- Fisheries.
- Bird catching (chiria) leases.
- Leases for collecting honey.
- Pasture and grazing leases.
- Bankar leases (for cutting trees and undergrowth).
- Phalkar leases.
- Leases for cutting thatching grass.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Cash rent paid by all classes of raiyats ...	22,44,490	8	0
Value of 5,044·92 acres covered by by tenancies on produce rent, or part produce and part cash. ...	11,306	12	0
Estimated annual value of land in in possession of proprietors and tenureholders. ...	3,22,786	12	0
Total ...	25,78,584	0	0

The total land revenue for the district is Rs. 4,81,222-3-9 so that land revenue is approximately one-fifth of the assets.

#### 95. Relation of landlord and tenant.

—When settlement operations commenced, the relation between landlords and tenants was far from satisfactory; and, as has been mentioned later in this report, it was that relation which induced the late Mr. Peddie to propose that settlement operations in Malda should be taken up immediately, instead of several years later, according to the provincial programme. He apprehended that the existing agrarian trouble might become intensified, particularly in the Barind, unless early action was taken to protect the tenants' rights. Even so, it was not fully realised at that time how bad conditions were.

The landlords, as a class, rely entirely on their agents. They show no interest in the economic welfare of their tenants, or in agricultural improvements. The principal causes of the ill-feeling that existed when settlement operations commenced, were the exaction of various abwabs, the illegal enhancement of rent, non-grantal of rent receipts, the levy of interest at high rates, and the rapacity and oppression of landlords' agents, gomastas and peadas. Another contributing factor was the low price of agricultural produce brought about by the economic depression, which began the year after the settlement operations commenced. The tenants were in difficulties over the payment of rent, and the landlords were inclined to think that the tenants were deliberately withholding rent, and making the economic depression a pretext.

**96. Abwabs.**—Abwabs at various rates are levied by all estates. It is estimated that the total amount realised as abwabs is not less than the land revenue of the entire district. (The possibility of diverting this sum from the pockets of the landlords' agents to public purposes gives rise to interesting speculations.)

The greater part of the abwabs goes to the gomastas, but in some cases the landlords also take their share. These impositions vary both in size and character from estate to estate. On the average, "tahuri", which is normally the perquisite of the naib or gomasta, amounts to not less than two annas in the rupee; and "peadagan", the perquisite

of the naibs' underlings, to one anna. In many estates one anna is also realised as the cost of a rent receipt, and various levies are made on account of social or religious ceremonies. Some estates realise the cost of their rent collecting agency; one estate levies a tax when marriage ceremonies take place in a tenant's house, the rate being Rs. 5 for a son and Rs. 2-8 for a daughter. The Harischandrapur zamindars realise one anna in the rupee as a contribution to their dramatic club, and the Chowdhury estate of English Bazar collects a tax in Gajole police-station on each plough. Some estates realise abwabs in the name of deities, but appropriate the major portion themselves; and most estates make special levies on the occasion of various ceremonies in the landlord's house, such as marriages or sradh ceremonies, or for the purchase of a motor car, an elephant, or a gun. The Chanchol estate, which is one of the better managed zamindari, realises tahuri at one anna in the rupee, and the tenants do not complain against payment. Generally speaking, there is little or no complaint against the imposition of small abwabs: it is only when the landlord's agent becomes greedy that the tenants complain, and in Malda their rapacity in some estates is perhaps unequalled.

The settlement operations have done something to make the tenants realise the illegality of these exactions; but there is no doubt that as a whole they prefer to pay up rather than to incur the displeasure of the landlords' agents. Custom has proved stronger than law, and section 75, Bengal Tenancy Act, is a dead letter. There is no remedy but to amend the law, if there is any real determination to put an end to the practice. The Collector or the Settlement Officer will have to be empowered to deal with abwabs instead of the civil court. Even then it is doubtful whether it will be possible to put a complete stop to the levy of abwabs; but if the remedy is provided, it will be for the tenants to make use of it. Another very undesirable feature of the present system is the systematic underpayment in most estates of the zamindari staff. One learned, while reading "Swarnalata" for the departmental examinations, that in zamindari offices the pay is "nam-matra", or purely nominal, but the full significance of that statement is only appreciated after experience of settlement work.



With the exception of well managed estates like Chanchol, most estates pay their naibs or gomastas a monthly wage of ten rupees, five rupees, or even less, and leave them to take what they can off the tenants. Such under-payment is nothing but a deliberate incitement to realise abwabs.

**97. Illegal enhancements.**—Illegal enhancements of rent have been made in many estates. The method usually employed is to carry out an estate survey, to reduce the existing standard of measurement, and to assess rents at the same or at a slightly increased rate. For instance the current measurement in a certain pargana may be a bigha measuring  $90 \times 90$  cubits. By surveying with the standard bigha measurement of  $80 \times 80$  cubits, the result must be an increase of area on paper, though there has been no actual increase on the ground. The same result can be obtained by altering the length of the cubit. In some estates the cubit measures more than 18 inches, but by measuring with the standard cubit of 18 inches a fictitious increase in area is obtained. The Chanchol estate had two surveys,—the first in 1878, the second in 1904. During the first survey the standard of measurement was reduced from 100 or from 90 to 80 cubits; and during the second there was an enhancement of rent that amounted to eight annas in the rupee. The Talanda estate in Gomastapur and Nachole thanas was surveyed in 1917, excess rent was demanded for excess area, and an illegal enhancement was made. No registered kabuliyats were executed, and as there was no proof that the original settlement of rent was based on an area found after survey, the enhancement was cut down under section 29, Bengal Tenancy Act, as it was in excess of the allowable limit. This enhancement had been made at a time when the price of rice was high. With the fall of prices at the beginning of the economic depression the tenants wanted a reduction of rent, and when it was refused they combined against the landlord and stopped payment of rent. Discontent prevailed throughout the estate, meetings of protest were held, and feeling against the landlord ran high. The situation improved when attestation began in 1931-32. The tenants began to realise that the settlement operations might be the deciding factor in the dispute, and devoted their energies to the

preparation of claims that illegal enhancements should be cut down under section 29, Bengal Tenancy Act.

The Monakosa estate, owned by Maulvi Johur Ahmed Chowdhury, was surveyed in 1931 and an enhancement of rent was claimed. This was resisted by the tenants, who were thereupon subjected to oppression and intimidation by the landlord. It was even reported that in one village some tenants, who wanted to fight the enhancement before the Attestation Officer, had been wrongfully confined and tortured. The facts were reported to the District Magistrate, whose intervention was necessary to put a stop to the landlord's repressive measures.

In the Taherpur estate, the landlord of which is Sriji Sasi Sekhaheswar Roy, illegal enhancements had been made, but the operation of section 29, Bengal Tenancy Act was defeated in many cases by the amalgamation or splitting up of tenancies. Two enhancements were made within 20 years, but the landlords safeguarded themselves by taking kabuliyats; and where they had made amalgamations or split up holdings, the tenants' claims could not be accepted. This estate is also fond of recourse to the civil courts, and many holdings which had been made khas in rent sales were lying uncultivated. The relation with the tenants was far from happy. The tenants were aggrieved at the landlord's attitude over the question of enhancements, and showed their feeling by socially boycotting the estate employees in Gomostapur and Nachole thanas for about six months.

**98. Rent receipts.**—In most estates rent receipts are not properly granted. The most common form of illegality is to accept a part payment of rent, and to refuse a receipt until the whole rent has been paid. When the full rent has been paid, along with the necessary abwabs, the receipt is granted, though sometimes not for several days after the payment has been made. There was a lamentable ignorance throughout the district of the law regarding the grant of rent receipts, and it is hoped that the settlement operations have helped to remove that ignorance, in part at least. Fines were imposed in a number of cases under section 58, Bengal Tenancy Act,—particularly in the case of Bulbuli and Singabad landlords, who were the worst offenders in this respect. Other noteworthy points in connection with rent receipts



are that the area is often not entered, and they do not show for which year payment has been made. The last omission is due in some estates to the fact that payments of rent are credited to arrears of many years ago,—arrears which have long been time-barred, but which in badly managed estates are still claimed from the tenants and retained in the accounts. The Bulbuli estate, which is perhaps the most remarkable instance of mismanagement in the district, has for many years claimed an enhancement of rent, which its tenants have refused to pay. The unpaid enhancement has been entered as “arrears” in the estate accounts for many years, interest has been charged on it, and consequently it is not uncommon to find a tenant with an annual rental of Rs. 5 who is shown in the estate accounts as being in arrears to the tune of Rs. 2,000. Small wonder that under such conditions a tenant cannot possibly know to what year a payment of rent has been credited. This iniquitous system of estate management also permits the landlord to credit all payments to the oldest arrears: the holding is consequently permanently in arrears of rent for four years, and is liable to be sold up at any moment. The practice should be forbidden by law.

The Bulbuli estate was also guilty of the deliberate destruction of rent receipts. Evidence was available to show that these landlords had, on various pretexts, induced tenants to hand over their rent receipts, and had then torn them up. For helping to procure this evidence thanks are due to Father Cattaneo of the Roman Catholic Mission at Rohanpur, who brought many cases of oppression to my notice.

**99. Oppressive practices.**—There are other practices of an oppressive nature which have tended to produce strained relations between landlords and tenants. One of the most common practices in the Barind is to increase the area of the various “Kamats” of the landlords by forcibly adding land from tenants’ holdings. Of course no reduction of rent is given in exchange for this land grabbing. Another rather remarkable attempt to cheat the tenants out of their rights was made by the Shahs of Porsha, an adjacent thana of Dinajpur district. These highly oppressive landlords conceived the idea of taking away their tenants’ occupancy rights by making bogus settlements with various

relations, and issuing rent receipts to the tenants in which they were described as under-raiyats. The fraud was exposed when the relationship was examined between the landlords and the relatives with whom the so-called raiyati settlements had been made. It then became apparent that no rent was actually being paid, and that there was no actual relationship of landlord and tenant. This was in Habibpur thana. In the same thana instances were found in which three ejmali estates—those of Bulbuli, Singabad and Kotwali—were realising the full rent of holdings instead of part rent according to their shares. These estates were partitioned amicably on the basis of the record of rights.

Another practice, which is common in the Barind though not so common elsewhere, is distraint of crops. Many landlords in the Barind distraint their tenants’ crops, but complaints are hardly ever brought to the courts. Begar, or forced labour, is also prevalent in some estates, particularly in the Barind, where the tenants seem to be under the impression that they are bound to submit to it. The practice is now on the decrease, but tenants are still required to work at their landlords’ houses on festive occasions, and in some estates they are required to cultivate the landlords’ khamar land.

**100. Oppression on aborigines.**—

From what has been written above it is evident that most of the oppression and mal-practices have flourished in the Barind. In this area almost the entire Santal population resides, and their ignorance, improvidence, and illiteracy make them an easy prey for the landlords’ unscrupulous agents and the mahajans. The Santal is regarded by his more educated neighbours with a kind of contemptuous tolerance, although in natural honesty he is their superior. To cheat a Santal out of his land is considered a smart piece of work into which no ethical considerations enter. Landlords, mahajans, pleaders, touts,—all are combined in the common object of fleecing the Santal. The easiest and most common method is to use the civil court, and by suppressing its processes to get an *ex parte* decree. As a result, many Santals have lost their occupancy rights, and as the figures given subsequently indicate, expropriation of their land has proceeded to an alarming extent. One case came

to notice in which a Santal actually lost his holding because he borrowed some salt from his mahajan. Instances were also found in which Santals had been dispossessed by deliberate cheating. A "khos kobala" is a sale deed, and a "khot kobala" is a form of mortgage. By substituting the word "khos" for "khot" in a mortgage deed, the transaction would become an outright sale. Such cases have occurred, and in cases where the transactions took place before Chapter VIIA, Bengal Tenancy Act, was applied to Malda, it was not possible to restore the Santals to possession.

The trouble between the Santals and their landlords began about 1910, when the landlords of Tauzis Nos. 586 and 587 in Habibpur police-station tried to enforce an enhancement of rent. The Santals made a representation to the Governor, alleging oppression and unfair exactions by the gomastas and peadas. Mr. Vas, the then Collector, was appointed arbitrator, and was accepted by both parties to the dispute. The landlords had induced the Santals to migrate from the Santal Parganas and further west, and after the jungle in the Barind had been cleared and the slopes terraced, the landlords wanted an enhancement. The Santals had at that time been possessing the land which they had cleared either at very low rates, or rent free. As a result of Mr. Vas's settlement, the lands were measured, though no map was prepared; the rent was settled at six annas per bigha; and provision was made for the payment of arrear rent. The Santals have since then stood by this settlement and resisted any attempts to make further enhancements. As has been mentioned, the Bulbuli estate has tried to enhance rents, but has only succeeded in piling up under the head arrears the enhancement which it claims. The attempts to enhance rents have been a constant source of friction between the landlords and the Santal tenants. Other sources have been the dispossession of tenants through the civil court, generally after suppressing notices; the exactions of landlords' agents; and the constant attempts to deprive the Santals of their rights. In December 1932 a section of the Santals under the leadership of Jitu Santal occupied the great mosque at Adina, proclaimed their independence, and refused to leave it when ordered by the District Magistrate. The police had to open fire; several Santals

were killed or wounded, and one constable died from the effects of a wound by a poisoned arrow.

Such was the state of affairs in the Barind up to the end of 1932. Shortly after the unfortunate incident at the Adhina mosque, the Collector proposed to Government that a Special Officer should be appointed for the Barind, to enquire into the grievances of the Santals and redress them as far as possible. The late Sir P. C. Mitter was Revenue Minister at that time. He showed great interest in the welfare of the Santals, and called for a report from the Settlement Department on the actual state of affairs. The report contains several details of interest, and is reproduced below with minor alterations:—

"From the census figures published in the *Calcutta Gazette* it appears that the number of Santals in Malda is 72,145, and that of Oraons 4,961. Almost the entire Santal population resides in the Barind, that is, the area east of the Mahananda river comprising thanas Bamongola, Gajole, Habibpur, Old Malda, Gomastapur, Nachole and Nawabganj.

There is much irregularity in the grant of rent receipts, and the various mal-practices of landlords' agents are rendered easier by the fact that the Santals are illiterate and in many cases do not know what is the amount of rent payable.

The following illegalities are practised by naibs and gomastas:—

- (a) The whole or part of the rent is realised without the grant of a receipt and without crediting the amount to the estate accounts.
- (b) In cases of part payment the tenant is told that a rent receipt will be granted when he has paid up the demand in full.
- (c) When a payment is made on account of rent the amount is credited to arrears, and no mention is made of the year for which the payment is made. The tahari or hisabana is also deducted by the landlord's agent at the time when rent receipts are granted.

I think the only remedy here lies in the rigid enforcement of section 58, Bengal Tenancy Act, but in order to do

so a Collector has to tour regularly in the Barind in order to keep in touch with the Santals and find out cases of non-grantal of rent receipts. When I was Settlement Officer and Collector of Malda, I instituted a number of cases under section 58, Bengal Tenancy Act, against the Bulbuli and Singabad estates and inflicted fines on them.

Abwabs are universally realised by every landlord and their scale is, generally speaking, higher in the Barind than elsewhere. The reason is the ignorance of the tenants and the fact that in many cases they do not know what is their legal rent. A Santal's legal rent may be Rs. 12. For years he has been in the habit of paying Rs. 18 to his gomasta, and he knows that Rs. 18 is the amount payable for that particular holding. If a newly appointed gomasta were to ask for the legal rent, the Santal would reply that Rs. 12 must be the rent of some other holding, and not of his.

The scale of abwabs varies considerably in different estates. I give below a number of examples from which some idea may be obtained :—

Thana.	Estates.	Abwabs.
Habibpur ..	Porsha Shahs	As. 8 in the rupee.
	Harihar Satiar	As. 12 in the rupee.
	Bulbuli } Singabad }	.. On the average As. 4 in the rupee. The tenants have to pay between Re. 1 and Rs. 2 to see the landlord.
Gajole ..	Rai Sahib J. N. Choudhury.	The average abwab is over As. 4 in the rupee.
	Girija Kanta Das. The Sannyals.	Tahsildars are either not paid or are paid a nominal amount, and make the rest out of the tenants. Rai Sahib J. N. Choudhury levies a tax on each plough.
Old Malda ..	Girija Kanta Das and others.	The abwabs vary from As. 4 to As. 8 per rupee. Fees for the tahsildars and peons, the cost of establishment, the cost of rent receipts, and subscriptions to various festivities are realised. On the average a tenant pays as abwabs not less than 1/3rd of the legal rent.
Gomastapur	Taherpur estate (Sashi Sekharieswar Roy) • Brojendra Moitra, Begum Sahaba of Rohanpur.	The general rate of abwab varies from As. 2 to As. 8 per rupee. Interest on arrear rents is charged at Rs. 25 per cent. The abwab in the Begum Sahaba estate is As. 3-0 which is fairly moderate for the Barind.

On the average I estimate that a Santal pays at least 1/3rd of his legal rent in additional abwabs.

There is no remedy whatever against this state of affairs except to alter the law. The truth is that the custom of paying abwabs has proved stronger than the law which forbids it. Moreover no tenant would adopt so suicidal a course as to fight his landlord single-handed in the civil court for the meagre penalty which the law provides. I doubt whether the files of civil courts would show a single case under section 75, Bengal Tenancy Act. The section is a dead letter (*vide* the settlement report of any district) and will remain so until the Collector or the Settlement Officer is empowered to take cognizance.

101. The figures below give the area of land formerly held by cultivators and now held by money-lenders and other non-agriculturists. The figures represent the transfer of lands from all classes of cultivating tenants and not only Santals, but there is little doubt that the major portion has been expropriated from Santals. At a rough estimate I should say that not less than three-quarters of the area in the first four thanas, and half of the area in the remaining three thanas formerly belonged to Santals. That means that in about 25,000 acres the Santals have lost their occupancy rights, and probably in the majority of cases have become adhiars without any rights :—

Thana.	Area in square miles.	Area expropriated in square miles.	Estimated area expropriated from aboriginals.
1	2	3	4
Bamangola	69.32	1.46	1.40
Habibpur	156.73	9.00	6.75
Gajole	196.84	6.36	4.77
Malda	87.15	8.10	6.08
Gomastapur	122.64	20.34	10.17
Nachole	109.70	10.53	5.27
Nawabganj	55.90	9.00	4.50
Total	798.28	64.77	38.64

Chapter VII(A), Bengal Tenancy Act, was extended to the Santals of Malda in 1923, and to the Oraons in 1927. Under its provisions no aboriginal can transfer

land by sale or mortgage without the Collector's permission in writing. This enables the Collector to go into each case that comes before him, find out what is the amount owing to the money-lender, and calculate how much land should be sold, or what should be the terms of a mortgage. Unfortunately the chapter does not enable the Collector to insist that the money-lender should accept his terms. According to section 49E (2) of the Bengal Tenancy Act, an aboriginal raiyat can only enter into a usufructuary mortgage but in many cases the money-lenders in Malda refused to advance money on such mortgage.

This was a difficulty which I continually came across as Collector. A Santal would ask for permission to mortgage his land so that he could take a loan to pay up his rent and outstanding debts. After making the necessary calculation, the Collector might sanction a usufructuary mortgage of 10 bighas for 6 years. The money-lender thereupon refused to advance the loan and there was no law under which he could be compelled to do so.

**102. Civil court procedure.**—It is common knowledge that there exists a practice by which Civil Court notices in rent sales are suppressed, in order that interested persons can obtain *ex parte* decrees without the knowledge of the tenant. This practice is generally followed in the Barind, particularly in suits against Santals, whose utter ignorance of law and procedure makes them easy victims. The following are extracts from the Circle notes of Habi-pur and Malda thanas:—

'In the due course the mortgage is foreclosed, in the majority of cases suppressing the notice, and the property sold, only to be purchased by the mahajans. The tenants in happy ignorance continue to till the land for sometime, when the mahajan takes mutation from the landlord, and proceeds to possess the land'.

'Cases have been found where rent was paid but not credited to the accounts. Suits are instituted for this, notices are suppressed, and the land is ultimately sold. The tahsildar does this in collusion with some in the locality to purchase the land in auction'.

It is a known fact that the suppression of notices is a common practice. I can cite specific instances where pleaders and others living in English Bazar are known to have purchased Santals' holdings in rent sale after suppressing notices. The difficulty is to adduce any proof. It is true that the law provides a remedy in the case of *ex parte* decrees, and that a tenant can file a suit to have the decree set aside. But the Santal is not litigiously minded and is generally too poor to seek redress in the courts. The result is that cases occur where the executive is compelled to support the authority of the civil court against a Santal, with whom its entire sympathies lie. I recall a Session's case in which a Santal's holding had been sold without his knowledge. When the purchaser came to take possession, the Santal defended his right to the property, as he thought, and went to the length of shooting an arrow. The wounded man ultimately died and the Santal was sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment. Though he had exceeded the right of private defence, he could not prove that the holding had been sold without his knowledge and by suppressing the sale notices. On the evidence, the legal presumption was otherwise.

It is my opinion that the civil court ought not to deal with suits against Santals. In that respect I agree entirely with the views of the present Collector. The very fact that a large proportion of suits against Santals are heard *ex parte*, is an indication that notices are either suppressed or perfunctorily served. The following are figures obtained from the civil court for the years 1928-33. They show the number of cases heard *ex parte*, and the percentage of such cases to the total number of cases:—

#### Rent suits—

Cases heard <i>ex parte</i>	...	881
Percentage	...	88

#### Mortgage suits—

Cases heard <i>ex parte</i>	...	172
Percentage	...	82

The executive authorities deal with civil suits in Santal Parganas, but I imagine that the Santal population there constitutes a much larger percentage than in Malda. On the whole I do not think it would be desirable to create a non-regulation area. But in order to secure justice to the Santals, and to prevent the expropriation of their land I believe strongly that the trial of civil suits against them must be taken away from the civil courts. The average munsif is not interested in the executive point of view. If a Santal defendant fails to appear in a civil suit, the munsif is not going to inquire whether the notice has really been served or not. He can decide the suit *ex parte* and show another case finally disposed of.

**103. Special Officer for the Barind.**  
—What I would propose, is that a specially selected Sub-Deputy Collector should be vested with the powers of a munsif, and should hear all civil suits against Santals and Oraons at convenient centres in the Barind on the basis of the finally published record of rights. In addition to hearing civil suits, the Special Officer would in the course of his touring report to the Collector any matters affecting the Santals, and collect evidence in any cases where he found that rent receipts were not being properly granted. I have personally no doubt whatever that the appointment of a good Sub-Deputy Collector such as Babu Kshitish Chandra Barman who was Attestation Assistant Settlement Officer in Habibpur and speaks Santali well would do a great deal to improve the condition of the Santals in the Barind."

Government accepted the recommendation regarding a Special Officer for the Barind, and in June 1933 Babu Kshitish Chandra Barman was appointed. He has fully justified expectations. It is reported from Malda that since his

appointment the condition of the Santals has greatly improved. The oppression by the landlords and mahajans has been stopped, civil court processes are not being suppressed, and rent receipts are being regularly granted. It is also reported that the realisation of abwabs has been checked. Under these circumstances it does not appear necessary to press the recommendation, as was originally intended, that the Special Officer should be vested with the powers of a munsif to hear all civil suits against Santals and Oraons.

Although the oppressive practices which prevailed in the Barind up till 1933 were particularly noticeable, it is probable that in the rest of the district there is not more oppression than exists in other districts of Bengal. The tenants have learnt something of their rights and with the awakening of new ideas it is likely that the realisation of abwabs will be reduced but that the landlords and their agents will attempt to realise interest on the maximum possible scale. Some tahsildars collect abwabs by explaining to the tenants that the payment of a moderate abwab saves them from paying interest which would be levied at a higher rate. One advantage which the Malda tenants enjoy is an unusually low rate of rent. There is perhaps no other district except Jalpaiguri where the average rate of rent for occupancy holdings is so low. The tenants in the Chanchal estate also enjoy advantages which are not found in other estates. The Raja Bahadur is a very public spirited zamindar who has contributed very handsomely to various projects of public utility. His contributions include a payment of half a lakh towards the water works at English Bazar. In his own estate he makes regular grants for the maintenance of dispensaries and numerous educational institutions.

## PART II.

### Chapter I—The present operations.

104. **Programme and performance.**—According to the original provincial programme, Malda was to be taken up after Rangpur in 1932-33. But at the instance of the late Mr. Peddie who was Collector from 1925 to 1929 Government were asked to take up the operations earlier. It was reported that in view of the approaching settlement operations and as a result of experience gained from the adjoining districts, some of the landlords were destroying the evidence of mokarari presumption, and in order to gain this objective, were illegally enhancing rents and oppressing their tenants. It was therefore proposed to take up the district in 1928-29 and to postpone operations in Rangpur and Dinajpur. Traverse work was to be started a year earlier in 1927-28. The operations in Malda however had to be postponed owing to the initial failure of air survey methods, an account of which is given in the following section.

The winter of 1928 and the spring of 1929 were occupied with experiments in connection with air survey. Sufficient progress was made during that field season to complete the khanapuri of 104 square miles by air survey methods in Ramangola and Habibpur thanas, but the delay in perfecting the system made it necessary to traverse the remainder of A block during the first half of 1929, and to carry out the survey by ordinary cadastral methods in the field season, 1929-30. B block was surveyed in 1930-31 by air survey methods. The area of A block was 802 square miles: that of B block 783 square miles including the Dinajpur diara strip.

Attestation was completed by the end of field season, 1931-32, but diara resumptions were delayed owing to the difficulties described in that section of the report, and were not finally concluded until 1936.

The operations were taken up under notifications Nos. 13090 L.R., dated the 13th August 1927 and 16053 L.R., dated the 24th August 1928. An area of 20 square miles along the Mahananda river in Dinajpur district was taken up under notifications Nos. 14453 L.R., dated the 7th December 1931, and 14454 L.R., of the same date

for the purpose of diara resumption. The island of Bhutni diara measuring 36.63 square miles was also transferred to this district from Santal Parganas under notifications Nos. 11145 Jur., dated the 22nd August 1929, and 2025 T.R., dated the 22nd October 1931, and was included in the programme under notifications Nos. 11153-11154 Jur., dated the 22nd August 1929, and 2026-2027 T.R., dated the 22nd October 1931. The following figures show the areas surveyed during the district settlement operations and the Rajshahi diara survey of 1916-18, with the incidence of plots and interests per square mile:—

	Acres.	Square miles.
Area surveyed in the district settlement operations .. ..	1,014,675	1,585.4
Area surveyed in the Rajshahi diara survey .. ..	256,323	400.5
	1,270,998	1,985.9
Number of plots in the district settlement operations .. ..	1,409,966	
Number of plots in the Rajshahi diara survey .. ..	352,490	
	1,762,456	
Incidence of plots per square mile .. ..	887	
Number of interests in the district settlement operations .. ..	431,631	
Number of interests in the Rajshahi diara survey .. ..	103,742	
	535,373	
Incidence of interests per square mile .. ..	270	
Incidence of plots per interest .. ..	3.3	

The incidence of plots per interest is normal; but that of plots and interests per square mile is distinctly below the average. The reason for this is that there is at present nothing like the same pressure on the land as in more thickly populated districts. In consequence the holdings are larger and more compact than in most districts, there has been comparatively little fragmentation, and the proportion of under-riayats to raiyats is relatively small.

The Ganges diara strip, measuring 401 square miles, which was surveyed in 1916-18 by the Rajshahi Diara party, was omitted from the programme, with the exception of one village, mauza Sri-ghar, J.L. No. 20 of Kaliachak police-station.

There were three estates in which maintenance operations were carried out on the application of the landlords. These were the Mathurapur, Raj Banaili, and Churamon estates. The



first lies in the area surveyed by the Rajshahi Diara party: the other two were previously surveyed between 1881 and 1884. The old maps and records of these two estates were duly compared with the settlement maps and records.

**105. Air survey.**—The original programme was to take up the survey of Malda by air survey methods in the winter of 1928. The Air Survey Company had previously surveyed a part of Chittagong district in the forest area on a 4" scale, but the Malda survey was the first attempt to produce maps on a 16" scale.

The attempt failed initially, partly because there was delay in sanctioning the contract with the Company, with the result that the work had to be rushed; partly because the system had not been sufficiently developed to meet the standard of accuracy required, and various technical difficulties had to be overcome. The result was that the winter of 1928 and the spring of 1929 were spent in experimental work. The introduction of air survey methods had to be postponed with the exception of an area of 104 square miles in Habibpur and Bamangola thanas where experimental work was continued. "A" block was taken up by ordinary cadastral methods in the winter of 1929, and B block in 1930 by air survey methods, after the system had been further developed and adapted to settlement requirements.

As this was the first occasion on which 16" mapping was carried out in India from air photographs, an account of the methods used and the difficulties encountered may be of interest.

The first stage consisted of fixing control points on the ground by theodolite traverse. This was carried out by the Traverse Party under the Director of Land Records and Surveys. Traverse lines were run at an interval of about one mile, and control points were fixed on the ground at the same interval by digging trenches 10 feet in length, in the shape of a cross. These stand out clearly on a photograph, and were intended to serve as the basis for correct scaling of the photographs.

The actual photography was carried out during the winter of 1927 and the spring of 1928. The only available landing ground was at Mathurapur in the west of the district near the Ganges.

The Company had an initial setback when it was found that the first batch of films supplied from England was not suitable to the Indian climate. This caused some delay, as a different type of film had to be requisitioned.

The camera used was an Eagle Aircraft Camera, holding a negative 7" x 7" and capable of 100 exposures before the roll had to be changed. This could be done within a few seconds by simply changing the magazine. The machine flew at a height of about 6,000 feet while the photographs were being taken, and each resulting negative covered nearly a square mile. The area to be photographed was divided into strips running north and south, so that on completion of one strip, the machine could turn and take up the next strip without any delay. To obtain common points for purposes of control, each photograph was taken with a fore and aft overlap of 50 per cent. and a lateral overlap of 25 per cent. In spite of the delay and the difficulties encountered the photography of 800 square miles was completed by April, when clouds and bad visibility made it impossible to continue.

The next stage was the compilation of the photographs. This can be carried out by either of two methods, the direct method or the radial line method. The former consists of adjusting the scale of the photographs entirely on the basis of traverse data, so that there can be no error on the part of the draftsman; but it requires more traversing on the ground. The latter method, which the Company elected to adopt, consists of carrying a series of graphic triangulations through each photographic strip on a celluloid ray plot, and tying it to the fixed points of the traverse control. This method involves very careful adjustment of the triangles, and the Company experienced great difficulty in getting together and training a sufficient number of draftsman to carry out the work. It was at this stage that the method ultimately proved a failure, and had to be abandoned in favour of the direct method.

Before this happened however, a number of sheets had been produced and sent to Malda to be tested on the ground. The system followed in producing the sheets was for the draftsmen to ink up every field boundary which was clearly visible from the photograph, and to

leave out areas in which there were homesteads or over-hanging trees. The results were then sent for reproduction at the Bengal Drawing Office, and in order that the village boundary might be indicated, an approximate relay was made from a congregated series of Revenue Survey maps and indicated by a dotted line.

The first batch of these sheets reached Malda in the middle of September 1928. The area selected for the experiment was in Habibpur thana, which forms part of the undulating country in the north-east of the district.

The first day's testing made it evident that the system was not going to prove satisfactory. The Technical Adviser and myself spent the whole of an extremely hot day in trying to locate our position on the first sheet. Our difficulty was increased by the fact that the revenue survey name of the village, as printed on the sheet, was not locally known by the tenants. Apart from that, the plots in this area are extremely small, because in undulating country ails have to be built at close intervals to retain the rain water. The sheets therefore presented a rather bewildering confusion of small plots, with occasional blank patches where there were homesteads or trees; and roads being few and far between in this area, it was very difficult to find natural features by which to identify one's position on the ground. However these initial difficulties were overcome, and the sheets were thoroughly tested, with the result that they were found to be not sufficiently accurate. The maximum error allowable in cadastral survey is 1 : 200; whereas the error in these sheets averaged between 1:75 and 1:100. Further tests made in thana Harishchandrapur in the north-west corner of the district produced similar results, and it was consequently decided to abandon the radial line method, and to substitute the direct method. This necessitated further traverse, which the Company decided to carry out at their own expense over an area of approximately 100 square miles in Habibpur and Bamangola thanas.

Meanwhile, it became evident from the settlement point of view that the system contained other defects besides the inaccuracy of scale. In the first place it was not uncommon to find that as many as twenty small plots, which

had all been linked up by the Company's draftsmen, actually formed one holding, and would, in accordance with the technical definition of a "field", be mapped as one plot during settlement operations. There was thus a great wastage of the draftsmen's time and labour. Secondly, the relay of the revenue survey boundary proved to be very unsatisfactory. On the average it was found to be about 15 chains off from the actual boundary. This would have involved the transfer, by the glassing off process, of a portion of each village onto the adjacent sheet.

These two facts inspired the idea of doing kharapuri directly on the photographs themselves, surveying at the same time the areas covered by homesteads or trees, and reproducing after kharapuri the 16" sheet of the mauza. This is the system which is now regularly followed, but at that time it was considered rather revolutionary. An experiment was carried out however, by selecting a group of villages in Habibpur thana. The result was encouraging. It showed that the new method could be quickly learned by the average amin; that it was quite possible to work on a photograph; and that when the amins had obtained some experience the rate of progress might be expected to be faster than that of cadastral methods.

In the meantime the extra traverse required for the direct method was carried out from December 1928, and as the data reached Calcutta, the next process of rectification was begun. This consists of enlarging the scale of the photographs to 16" and correcting the scale to the required limit of accuracy. The scale of the original photograph, or "contact print" is about 6" to the mile, so that it has to be enlarged nearly three times. The rectifier is a machine which resembles a large camera pointing downwards towards an adjustable table below. The traverse data are first computed, and plotted out onto a celluloid sheet, which is placed on the table. Each traverse station is shown with a pin prick, and ringed with a circle. The same traverse stations are also pricked on the negative, and ringed. Their positions on the negatives are identified from the contact print on which the traverser has shown them during field work. The negative is then projected through the rectifying machine, so that an image of

the photograph appears on the celluloid sheet. If the scale is absolutely correct the two sets of traverse stations will agree exactly. If they do not agree, the difference will at once be detected. It may be due to three reasons:—an error in traverse or computation; an error by the traverser in pin-pointing the position of the traverse station; or tilt on the aeroplane when the photograph was taken. The first source of error can be rechecked from the data; but if the error has been made on the ground, that particular station has to be rejected, and the rectification carried out on the basis of the remaining stations. Similarly an error in pin-pointing results in the particular station being left out of consideration. Fortunately such sources of error are not common. The third source is the most common, and can be eliminated by adjustment of the table on which the celluloid lies. If the aeroplane was tilted at the moment when the photograph was taken, the result is a slight variation of scale in the negative. It will be found that when the negative is projected, the traverse stations on one side of the photograph may agree exactly with those plotted on the celluloid, but the stations on the other side will not agree, the amount of difference varying with the amount of tilt. The difference is eliminated by tilting the table in the required direction with the adjusting screws until the stations pricked on the negative coincide with those on the celluloid. The table is then clamped, and a sheet of sensitive photographic paper is placed on it, exposed beneath the rectifier, and developed.

In the early experiments it was found that errors of scale still intruded owing to the distortion of the photographic paper during development, fixing, washing, and drying. Eventually this difficulty was surmounted by pasting the paper onto zinc sheets, so that the photographs could be exposed, developed, washed and dried without being detached.

The elimination of tilt was a great improvement and in this respect the direct method had now an advantage over the radial line method, which is bound to be affected by tilt. It was not possible however to say definitely in the early part of 1929 that the system had been perfected and that "A" block could be taken up by air survey methods. It was therefore decided to traverse

A block during the remaining months of the field season, and take it up by ordinary cadastral methods, leaving it to the Air Survey Company to complete their traversing of the experimental area of 100 square miles.

Further tests showed that the errors in scale were now coming down to the prescribed limit, and by the end of April, it was possible to take up khanapuri of the experimental area. It was divided into 7 halkas, under the charge of selected kanungos, each of whom had 12 amins. The work was completed early in July, the average progress being nearly 8 square miles a month in each halka. The time taken was rather less than that required for ordinary cadastral methods. To kistwar and khanapuri the same area would have taken about a fortnight longer.

An account has been given below of the detailed instructions for survey on photographs. The only notable difference at this stage was that it was not considered advisable to survey homestead and jungly areas directly on the photographs. A solution of potassium cyanide was applied to the portion to be surveyed. This had the effect of removing the photographic film, and leaving a white surface below, on which the survey was then made. This system ultimately proved unsatisfactory, as after some months the chemical action badly discoloured the photograph.

By the time that B block was taken up after the Pujas of 1930, a regular system had been worked out both for the production of the photographs, and for the ground survey. The procedure was for the photography to be carried out in late December or early January, when the crops were off the ground, and the visibility good. Given perfect conditions, the photography of 80 square miles could be completed in one day, and an average sized block in 10 days. The contact prints were then produced and made over to the Director of Land Records in February, when arrangements were made for traversing and postpointing the block. Postpointing consists simply of selecting the stations which are to be the control points for scaling photographs. For this work a selected amin was attached to each traverser. He worked ahead of the traverser, selected a field corner which was clearly identifiable on the contact

print and on the ground, marked it on the print with a pin point, and ringed it with a circle. The traverser then measured the angle between the last station and the selected point, and chained the distance. Meanwhile the postpointer had moved on and selected the next station.

These traverse lines were run along the lateral overlap of each "strip", so that there were not less than three stations common to photographs on the adjoining strip. If possible, the first and third stations were located in the corners of the contact print, so that they would fall within the fore and aft overlap of the preceding and succeeding photographs; that is to say, one station in the corner would be common to four photographs.

The postpointing system, that is, the selection of stations after, and not before photography, has the advantage that control points can be selected with regard to natural features, and villages, mango gardens, jungle and the like, can be avoided to a considerable extent. In the radial line method, the control points were selected before the photography was carried out, with the result that the field party was more or less tied down to a certain line and had to do a good deal of jungle clearing.

The traversing and postpointing were completed in June and the Company had then about three and a half months in which to rectify the photographs and supply them mounted on zinc plates by the commencement of the field season. They showed the traverse stations with circles, and the rectified area, within which the scale was guaranteed to be accurate, was indicated by red ink lines. On receipt at Malda they were sorted and despatched to the various *halkas*, where the *kanungos* distributed them to their *amins*.

The *amin's* first duty was to mark in pencil the boundaries of all *mauzas* which fell within the rectified area of the photograph allotted to him. It very rarely happens that a complete *mauza* is covered by one photograph; generally it contains portions of several *mauzas*. When the boundaries have been demarcated, the next step is to decide whether *khanapuri* should start immediately, or whether any area should first be surveyed. Where there are small and scattered groups of homesteads or jungly areas, it is quicker to start

*khanapuri* at once, and *kistwar* them as they are reached. Areas of 10 acres or so can be surveyed by running individual chain lines, but with larger areas it is necessary to cut quadrilaterals, and it is better to complete the survey before taking up *khanapuri*.

In surveying any area, a chain line may be run from, or to any field corner which is clearly identifiable on the photograph; or to any measured point along a field boundary. Such points under ordinary cadastral methods could only be selected on a traverse line or on the side of a quadrilateral, but in air survey methods, if the scale of the photograph is correct, it follows that any point which is clearly identifiable must be a fixed point in relation to any other such point. Care is of course necessary to see that the point which is selected on the ground is correctly plotted on the photograph: otherwise the survey will be incorrect.

*Khanapuri* is commenced in the *mauza* of which the north-west corner is included in the photograph. The best method of procedure is for the *amin* to take the photograph in his hand, and walk round five or six plots, making the necessary inquiries from the tenants, and lining up the plots in pencil. Returning to the table he lines them up with vermilion ink, which shows up better than any other colour, puts in the plot numbers, and writes up the record. Any mistakes in inking can easily be rectified on the spot by rubbing out the ink with a damp cloth. As the surface of the photograph has a water proof finish, no damage is caused.

After completing *khanapuri* of the portion of the *mauza* which is included in his photograph, the *amin* hands it over to his *kanungo*, and if possible is given the adjoining photograph on which to continue *khanapuri* of the same *mauza*. If this has been issued to another *amin* he may have to wait for it, or he may take up another photograph.

Some delay is unavoidable in the interchange of photographs. It can only be avoided by taking up *khanapuri* "photowar" instead of *mauzawar*; that is to say, the *amin* completes *khanapuri* of an entire photograph, irrespective of the number of *mauzas* which may fall in it. He is given the initial plot number of each *mauza* by the *kanungo*, who calculates the number of plots contained in other photographs. This

system on the other hand introduces several minor technical difficulties. There is bound to be a gap between the plot numbers in each photograph, while the record and the khasra are prepared separately for each photograph in which a mauza occurs. The result is that if a mauza falls in four photographs and a particular holding has land in each photograph, it will be separately recorded four times, and the record has to be rearranged after khanapuri.

The kanungo's first duty is to move round his halka during the initial stage of boundary demarcation and run one partial, or check line on each photograph, to ensure that there is no inaccuracy in scale. When boundary demarcation is completed, the next step is to take a trace of the mauza boundaries from each photograph, so that he can determine what will be the size of each mauza, and whether it will be possible to trace it onto one celluloid for reproduction. If more than one celluloid is required, he fixes on the photograph the common margin between the celluloids, dividing up the mauza in such a way that each portion can be placed conveniently and centrally on its celluloid. As khanapuri of each portion of a mauza is completed the photographs begin to come into the kanungo's camp, and under his supervision a draftsman, or selected amin, begins the work of tracing the plot boundaries onto celluloids. This is an important process, and one which requires great care and attention. When one portion of a mauza has been traced, the adjacent portion has got to be adjusted for tracing with the greatest accuracy and pinned down firmly; otherwise there may be slight shifting, which will result in an error of orientation. The second portion of the mauza may be slightly slewed round, so that the further the tracing proceeds, the greater will be the accumulation of error. To guard against this possibility, each kanungo was supplied with P 70 sheets, on which were plotted all the traverse stations within his halka. Before tracing was commenced, the celluloid was pinned over the appropriate P70 sheet, and the stations required for any particular mauza were pricked onto the celluloid and ringed. Consequently as each component part of the mauza was traced from the various photographs, there were always traverse stations on the celluloid which could be made to coincide with those shown on

the photographs. These points, coupled with the common margin between one component part and the next, almost entirely eliminated errors of orientation.

At the moment of writing the Malda system has been superseded by a rather different method. The traverse control lines are now run at an interval of about five miles, and in the corners of each photograph a line about 20 chains in length is carefully measured from field corner to field corner. These lines and the control points serve as the basis for the rectification of photographs, and have given satisfactory results so far as accuracy of scale is concerned. Some difficulty arises however at the tracing stage. The traverse lines being five miles apart, there may be several mauzas lying in between, for which no traverse stations are available. Consequently the tracing of component parts of a mauza onto celluloid has to be carried out on the basis of the common margin between photographs. This has led to a number of errors in orientation, which are detected during boundary comparison, and necessitate retracing before the boundary can be passed. It is now under consideration whether the Malda system should not be revived, although it involves a small increase in the cost of traverse. The tracing onto celluloids is at present the one process in air survey methods which is not entirely satisfactory. There is room for research here, and my belief is that tracing, which is liable to introduce draftsman's errors, may ultimately be abolished, and that a scientific method may be found of reproducing automatically the component parts of mauzas, and making them up into one mosaic for the whole village. If such a method can be found, at a cost which does not generally exceed the cost of tracing (about Rs. 6 per square mile) it will be a most valuable advance.

Another difficulty arising from the absence of traverse stations is that the north line can only be shown on some of the sheets with reference to the traverse data. During field work, and for purposes of reproduction, it is shown by magnetic compass on those photographs which contain no traverse station, and subsequently the true north line is adjusted in the Drawing office.

As soon as celluloids are completed in tracing they are forwarded to headquarters, and from there to the Bengal



Drawing Office, where they are reproduced and returned with their blue prints within a fortnight. The despatch of celluloids has to be so organised that sheets are reproduced for each halka, and sent out to mufassil camps before Bujharat begins. Otherwise this stage would be delayed.

In spite of the loss caused by the initial failure of Air Survey methods, the financial results show that there is a considerable saving over the cost of cadastral survey. The following table summarises the results of a comparison between the two cost rates which was prepared in 1932 in the Director of Land Records' office:—

Branch of work.	Rate per square mile.	
	By air survey method.	By cadastral method.
	Rs.	Rs.
Traverse .. .. .	67	109
Cadastral .. .. .	129	134
Khanapuri .. .. .	78	62
Initial recess .. .. .	24	24
Bujharat .. .. .	98	110
Supervision .. .. .	51	52
Preliminary map reproduction .. .. .	4	..
Additional contingencies .. .. .	3	..
	454	491

Net saving per square mile = 37.

The recovery rate in Malda is also an indication of the lower cost rate. Included in the amount to be recovered was a portion of the loss sustained during the initial experiments. This was spread over the blocks, and evened out to an all-round rate of Re. 1.4 for each block. Bearing in mind the fact that costs, especially supervision costs intend to increase, the rate compares very favourably with those of recent or contemporary settlements which are given in the following table:—

District.	A block.		B block.		C block.		D block.		Average.
	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	p.	Rs. a.	p.	Rs. a.	p.	
Murshidabad ..	1 8	1 7	1 8	0	1 4	1 6	9		
24-Parganas ..	1 4	1 6	1 8	0	1 13	1 7	9		
Burdwan ..	1 5	1 6	1 6	6	..	1 5	10		
Hooghly ..	1 14	..	..	..	..	1 14	0		
Malda ..	1 4	1 4	..	..	..	1 4	0		

This section may be summarised with the conclusions that firstly, air survey methods have now developed a degree of accuracy which is well within the

prescribed limit; secondly, they are more rapid than the cadastral method, and it is therefore possible to take up with the same staff a larger programme than would be possible by cadastral methods; thirdly, they result in a saving of about Rs. 37 per square mile.

106. **Cadastral difficulties.**—A block covering 802 square miles, was surveyed by ordinary cadastral methods in 1929-30. The area was divided into 61 halkas comprised in 8 circles.

One of the first difficulties that arose was the discovery that there were discrepancies between the notified boundaries of Malda, and those of Purnea and Dinajpur. These discrepancies were due, in the case of Purnea, to the fact that the course of the Mahananda river had shifted since the Purnea survey. It was also found that one village, Mauza Garrah, which according to notification belonged to Purnea, had been entirely omitted by the Purnea settlement, presumably on the understanding that it lay on the Malda side of the boundary. In this case it was decided that the village should be surveyed, and a record of rights prepared. The mauza was subsequently transferred to Malda by notification of the Government of India. In cases where discrepancies of survey existed owing to shifting of the river bed, it was decided to follow the existing course of the river, which is the administrative boundary. On the Dinajpur side the boundary is the Purnabhaha river, but discrepancies were found between the district boundary as notified in 1875, and the notified thana boundaries of Habibpur and Gomostapur. In some places the Purnabhaha river passes through the middle of villages, part of which lie in Malda, and part in Dinajpur; and in others the river flows beyond the eastern boundary of Malda villages. An independent survey was made of this boundary on the basis of the district notification. Settlement operations in Dinajpur district had not yet been taken up, and consequently the boundary fixed at this settlement will be followed by Dinajpur.

During the cadastral work there were few difficulties of actual survey. The chief obstacles were non-attendance of landlords and tenants in certain areas, and ill-health among the amins.



The Tal area in Harishchandrapur police-station and the villages in the Tangan and Purnabhaha valleys remain under water till December, and the tenants come from considerable distances. It was difficult to get work started in these areas, and equally difficult to find accommodation for the amins and their muharrirs. In some cases temporary huts had to be built for them. There was difficulty in securing good drinking water, and the result was that many amins suffered from ill-health, and some of them died. Many of the persons who were found cultivating borō paddy in the low-lying areas turned out to be labourers or adhiars; and in the absence of the landlords or their representatives, it was impossible to make satisfactory progress. The result was that a large number of notices under section 7 of the Survey Act had to be issued on absentee landlords and tenants.

The issue of these notices, and the subsequent penal action that was taken against some of the absentees brought to light a curious anomaly in the Survey Act. Section 7 provides for the issue of notices on absentees, directing their attendance within a specified time; and section 9 provides the issue of notices directing owners of land to clear away jungle within a specified time. But whereas failure to comply with a section 7 notice may lead to a lump fine, or a daily fine, there is no such penal provision for non-compliance with the section 9 notice. Section 51 which empowers the Settlement Officer to impose fines, makes no mention of any penalty for non-compliance with the order to clear jungle.

Block "B" containing an area of 783 square miles was taken up by air survey methods in season 1930-31. The area was divided into 62 halkas contained in 8 circles.

Here the difficulties in survey were mainly three. Firstly, the banks of the Kalindri and Mahananda rivers are lined with mango orchards and dense jungle. As has been previously mentioned, it is necessary in such areas to fix identifiable points around the area to be surveyed on the photograph, and on the basis of those points to cut morubbas or quadrilaterals. But in this case the jungle extended right up to the river bank, and it was therefore impossible to obtain any fixed point

beyond it. The only solution was to have sub-traverse lines run down the river banks; and in cases where the jungle and orchards were very extensive, it was decided to survey the areas on P70 sheets by ordinary cadastral methods.

The second difficulty arose in the island char of Bhutni diara. The photographs covering the island seemed at first sight to indicate the plots clearly enough; but on local investigation it was found that what they showed were not plot boundaries but crop boundaries. The soil is very sandy, and there are no raised boundaries between fields; the boundaries are generally straight lines drawn parallel to one another. In the photographs what appeared to be plots, were various crops or patches of fallow land. Thus a blackish coloured square might indicate a piece of land sown with kalai, and a lighter coloured square a piece of fallow land; but their boundaries had no relation to the actual field boundaries. It therefore became necessary to traverse and survey the whole of Bhutni diara by ordinary cadastral methods, and this considerably hampered progress.

The third difficulty was of a different kind, and arose in English Bazar town khas mahal. The previous settlement of 1905 had not been confirmed, or the map accepted. We were therefore compelled to fall back on the map of a still earlier survey in 1884. The original map was badly torn and a copy on tracing cloth had to be used for purposes of comparison. Even so, there were so many discrepancies that in spite of all possible effort the comparison had to be abandoned, and the settlement maps prepared on the basis of present possession. A few holdings, as recorded in the earlier settlement, could not be traced on the ground, although the rent had been realised for years from them.

The additional survey along the Kalindri and Mahananda and in Bhutni diara, as well as the jungly area in and around the ruins of Gaur, added greatly to the percentage of kistwar in B block. On the basis of the experiments made in A block, it had been expected that about 25 per cent. of the area of B block would have to be surveyed. Actually the percentage was 38. Great care had to be exercised in making inspections of kistwar on photographs. An unscrupulous amin was not above

drawing fictitious chain lines on the photo, in the hope of securing additional fees for kistwar. The system of payment was a flat rate per 100 plots for khanapuri on photographs, with a sliding scale according to the number of plots per acre. The sliding scale was necessary, because in areas where the plot average was  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per acre, for example, an amīn would khanapuri 60 plots in 40 acres; whereas with a plot average of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per acre he would khanapuri 100 plots in the same area, and without a sliding scale his remuneration would be greater. In addition to khanapuri fees, an additional payment was made for kistwar at a flat rate for every 100 chains run.

Another minor difficulty which occasionally cropped up in B block was one of discrepancy in scale. Over a distance of one mile, the maximum allowable error is 40 links, which is represented on a 16-inch sheet by  $\frac{2}{25}$ th of an inch. In some cases it so happened that in one village almost the maximum plus error had occurred, while in the adjacent village the maximum minus error had occurred. When traces of the common boundary were put together, the net difference was the sum of the two errors. In such cases careful adjustments had to be made over the whole length of the common boundary with the help of bends in the boundary.

Municipal boundaries created some difficulty, especially in the case of Old Malda Municipality. The boundaries in some cases passed through the middle of plots, and in the absence of any demarcating pillars neither the occupants nor the municipal authorities could say exactly where the boundary lay. The notification and the maps were of little assistance. It was found that holdings lying inside the municipal boundary had in some cases not been assessed to any tax, while others lying outside the boundary had been assessed. The principle which was followed in determining the boundaries was to follow the notification or the map in places where they could be clearly identified on the ground; and to follow the limit of taxation where they could not be identified. In preparing the record, the usual practice was followed of entering the name of the municipality on the front of khatians, if the whole holding lay within municipal limits; and in cases where only certain

plots lay within its limits to enter the name of the municipality against those plots in the remarks column.

**107. Boundary disputes.**—There were 309 boundary disputes in A block, and no less than 544 in B block. The number is unusually large, and possibly a record in the history of Settlement. It is also some indication of the feeling that exists between landlords. Many of the landlords seemed to be under the impression that the Settlement Department had appeared as a kind of "deus ex machina" to solve their civil disputes, and expected the revenue survey line to be relaid as a matter of course in order to assist them in carrying on litigation. Many boundary disputes were of this nature, and they wasted a great deal of the Circle Officers' time. One officer, Maulvi Saleuddin Ahmed, had over 200 boundary disputes in his circle in B block. This meant that practically every mauza in the circle was affected by one of the disputes.

In addition to boundary disputes, a number of demarcation cases were made over to the Settlement Department by the Collector. These were carried out under the provisions of the Survey Act, and in all cases the parties abided by our relay of the revenue survey line.

Out of a total of 853 boundary disputes appeals were filed to the Settlement Officer as Superintendent of Survey in 110 cases. The result of these appeals was that in 4 cases the orders of Circle Officers were reversed; in 17 cases the orders were modified; and in the remaining 80 appeals they were upheld.

**108. Amalgamation and splitting up.**—The Revenue Surveyors in Malda, as elsewhere, adopted units of survey that were sometimes ludicrously small, and sometimes large and unwieldy. In Malda the area of revenue survey villages varies between a few acres, and the size of a halka, that is, about 15 square miles. The usual procedure was followed of amalgamating revenue survey units under 100 acres with the most convenient neighbouring village; and splitting up the large units according to the locally known hamlets, giving the newly formed villages natural boundaries wherever possible.

In a few cases, revenue survey villages whose area was just below 100 acres, were allowed to remain separate units,

provided that they were locally well known as villages. In other cases, it was found that revenue survey villages were unknown by their existing names, and had to be renamed according to the names locally current.

There were 400 amalgamation cases in A block and 348 in B block. To begin with, several objections were filed by landlords under the misapprehension that the existence of their mauzas would be lost for ever. Such objections disappeared when it became known that the identity of amalgamated villages could still be traced. On the map, the boundary between the amalgamated villages was indicated by a slightly thicker line, and each component part of each of the newly formed mauza was given an identifying letter, against which were shown the plot numbers contained in each revenue survey unit.

There were 31 cases of splitting up in A block and 49 in B block. Natural boundaries, such as roads and khals, were adopted so far as was possible for the new villages; and where these did not exist, attempts were made to use large and well defined ails.

109. **Bujharat.**—The organisation presented no difficulty in A block. In B block, where air survey methods were used, arrangements had to be made to send down small batches of celluloids from each halka at more or less the same time, so that sheets could be vandyked for each halka in the reproduction section of the Director of Surveys' office. Had this arrangement not been made, sheets of certain halkas might have been delayed in reproduction and the kanungos would have been unable to start bujharat.

On the whole the work was easy and presented few difficulties, specially in estates where there no papers existed of previous surveys. Progress was naturally somewhat slower in estates where there were survey papers, petty settlement records, or the landlords had prepared maps and records by private agencies. In such estates the earlier maps and records had to be compared with ours. Progress was also rather slow at first in the lowlying and unpopulated areas where the attendance of landlords and tenants was still unsatisfactory. Another factor which caused some difficulty and delay was the existence of a number

of rentals, the corresponding holdings of which could not be identified on the ground. Although the rents were being paid for many years, neither the landlords' agents nor the tenants could point out the lands in many cases. But the greatest difficulties, technically speaking, were those arising from partial kharij. Partial kharij occurs when a purchaser, before the amended Tenancy Act of 1929, gets mutation from one or more of several co-sharer landlords, and not from all of them. The reasons for the absence of agreement among co-sharer landlords were generally mutual ill-feeling or distrust, and the influence of their gomastas. The latter usually get a fraction of the mutation fee that is realised, and are naturally unwilling to allow their landlords to accept anything less than the usual amount.

It was explained to both the landlords and tenants that they would be benefited by a simple and easily intelligible record, which excluded the complex entries demanded by partial kharij. Some cases were simplified by getting all the co-sharer landlords to agree to mutations, but a great many difficult cases remained. In thanas Harishchandrapur, English Bazar and Bholahat partial kharij presented unusual difficulties. In Bholahat the groups of landlords were so numerous that blank sheets of paper had to be pasted over the landlords' column, and the partial kharij entries provided a most laborious task for the kanungos, and later for the Attestation Officers. Besides making elaborate cross references between the khatians concerned, they had to trace back the history of the tenancies concerned to the time when the first mutation was made.

Legally, partial mutation was valueless until 1929, but a record that ignored it would not be based upon facts, and would be prejudicial to the purchasers who had paid considerable mutation fees and had obtained rent receipts from the co-sharer landlords who recognised the mutation.

In spite of the difficulties, progress was generally satisfactory. In A block an outturn of 1,800 plots a fortnight was considered good, and an outturn of 1,700 up to the required standard. Considering that the incidence of plots per acre is less than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in Malda, the average outturn was very satisfactory.

In B block it was considered advisable to fix a slightly lower standard. As this was the first occasion on which the maps had been reproduced from tracings on celluloid, it was important to have them thoroughly checked at bujharat. The kanungos were therefore instructed to run partial or check lines across the common margin between each component part of the mauza.

110. **Attestation.**—The experience gained during bujharat led to the supposition that attestation would be fairly straightforward, and that it would be possible to maintain without difficulty the standard outturn of 100 khatians a day. The programme was prepared on this basis. In A block, there were 195,575 interests and in the Dinajpur diara strip 16,045. Allowing for  $7\frac{1}{2}$  months of field work, 9 attestation circles were formed with an average of about 22,000 interests per circle. The Dinajpur diara strip with an area of 20 square miles formed a separate circle. In B block the number of interests was 228,691, and on the same calculation 11 attestation circles were created. The programme was carried out by gazetted officers and experienced kanungos with revenue powers.

The actual work presented little difficulty. There is little subinfeudation, and the only factor which tended to retard progress were the difficulties of partial kharij, referred to in the previous section, and the failure of many landlords, and some tenants, to produce all the necessary papers for the decision of disputes. At this stage however, the attendance was much improved, and the value of the records of rights was more generally appreciated.

The usual procedure was followed during attestation of making a careful comparison with the settlement of all land acquisition plans, petty settlement maps and khas mahal maps.

The number of disputes decided was as follows:—

Mokarari claims	...	17,065
Rent-free claims	...	8,505
Rent disputes	...	6,030

Most of these cases were simple. The mokarari claims were almost entirely based on the presumption raised under section 50 of the Tenancy Act by the production of rent receipts over a period of 20 years, showing that the rent had not

been altered within that period. In some areas in the Barind, particularly Habibpur and Bamangola, and in part of Harishchandrapur, the presumption under section 50 was rebutted simply by the production of Revenue Survey maps, which showed that the whole area was under jungle in 1847. In other areas the landlords sought to rebut the presumption by the production of kabuli-yats or old collection papers, which showed that the tenancy in dispute had been created after the Permanent Settlement, or that the rent had been altered at some period.

One rather interesting type of case that occurred fairly frequently was that of amalgamation or subdivision of holdings in respect of which a mokarari presumption had been raised. In the case of amalgamation the question was whether mokarari status remained unimpaired by the amalgamation, or whether a new holding had been created. Attestation officers were instructed to decide such cases with regard to the intention of the landlord, so far as it could be ascertained or inferred. If, as was generally the case, the intention was to create a new holding, the mokarari presumption was held to have become inoperative. In cases of subdivision, the reverse generally held good. The most common case was that in which a portion of a holding had been purchased and split off from the present holding; the rent of the new holding had been calculated proportionately to the area; and then an enhancement had been made. In such cases the mokarari presumption was naturally rebutted in respect of the new holding; but in the parent holding there had merely been a reduction of area with a proportionate reduction of rent; and it was held that this did not take away the mokarari presumption, as there was no evidence of any intention on the landlords' part to alter the rent.

Rent-free claims were only in a very few cases based upon sanads or taidads. The great majority of claims were made on the basis of sale deeds in which the land was described as rent free, or on the basis of long possession without payment of any rent. In some cases also the claimants produced certified copies of cess valuation rolls, filed by the landlords in which the holdings were described as rent free. In cases where the claim was based only on possession without payment of rent, Attestation Officers were instructed to scrutinise the claims

closely, and to allow them only if they were satisfied that the claimants had been in possession for at least 12 years without payment of any rent, and with the knowledge of the landlord.

Attestation janch was carried out by the peshkar and janch muharrirs at each camp. Particular care was taken to see that this stage of work was not allowed to drop into arrears, in order that a regular supply of records might be made to the officers hearing objections under section 103 of the Tenancy Act. The standard aimed at was that janch should not be behind attestation by more than one fortnight's outturn, i.e., by 1,500 interests.

**111. Objections.**—Some objections under section 103, Tenancy Act, were decided by the Attestation Charge Officers during the course of their touring; but the bulk of the objections were heard by selected gazetted officers in camps situated at convenient centres. The number of objections filed was a little more than 4 per cent. of the total number of interests. In comparison with other districts this is about the average. The following table gives an analysis and the results of the decisions:—

Block.	Status.	Rent.	Others.	Total.	Allowed.	Dis- allowed	
A	..	4,175	2,079	4,098	10,952	4,972	5,980
B	..	3,227	1,595	2,925	7,747	3,396	4,351
Total	..	7,402	4,274	7,023	18,699	8,368	10,331

The proportion of objections allowed appears to be unduly high and might lead to the conclusion that attestation had not been sufficiently careful. The explanation is that in a good many cases the landlords would not, or could not produce all the necessary papers during attestation to rebut the presumption under section 50 of the Tenancy Act. Similarly the tenants did not produce papers in support of their mokarari and rent-free claims. The majority of the objections were either for or against mokarari and rent-free claims.

**112. Final janch.**—Final janch was carried out at headquarters, owing to the absence of suitable accommodation in the mufassal. In A block the work was started as early as April, and in B block in May. In both blocks it was completed before the Pujas. The staff consisted of kanungos and experienced peshkars, badaramins and muharrirs. It was found possible to keep up the normal

outturn with an 8 hour day. In both blocks janch was started with one squad under the supervision of a Revenue Officer and 2 kanungos. Two more squads were subsequently added in June during which month kanungos were coming to the end of their field work. During the course of janch some local enquiries were necessary, particularly in connection with irrigation rights, which had not been correctly entered in some areas. The work was arranged with the object of keeping a regular supply of records to the press. An experienced Revenue Officer was put in charge of the office. He was assisted by three selected kanungos, who were put in charge of squads. The squads worked independently of each other; each had a definite area allotted to it, and so far as possible an equal number of interests, varying between 70,000 and 80,000.

The janch staff was divided into the following sections:—

(1) The maps were checked by badaramins, and a percentage of their work was rechecked by the kanungo in charge of the section. The mapping and area of each individual plot was examined; a comparison was made of the mauza boundaries, the correct spelling of mauza names was verified, the north line and thoka lines (mauza trijunctions) were checked, the map corrections were examined, plots added by subdivision (bata dags), and missing plots (chhut dags) were checked, all alamats, including the names of roads, rivers and khals were examined, and the carrying out of orders on boundary disputes was carefully verified.

(2) The second section checked the tamil (carrying out) of orders on petitions, disputes and objections, and verified that the records had been correctly prepared according to those orders.

(3) The third section carried out the principal check of the record of rights, known as the column check. Its duty was to see that the entry in each column of the khatian had been correctly made according to the rules and orders in force.

(4) The fourth section was engaged in the preparation of vandyke statements.

• This work is generally done by junior muharrirs. An alphabetical list of assessees is prepared for use in the recovery camp showing the distribution



of village maps to the landlords and tenants and calculating the number of maps required for reproduction in each village.

(5) The fifth stage was the collection of statistical figures by specially trained muharrihs, and

(6) The last stage was the arrangement of A, B and C files and the despatch of the records to the press.

**113. Case work.**—The amount of case work proved to be less than the original estimate. The total number of cases filed under section 105 was 15,555 in respect of 21,042 tenancies. The cases were simple and presented no unusual difficulties. The claims may be classified as follows:—

- (a) Claims to enhancement of rent of tenures under section 7.
- (b) Claims to enhancement of rent of occupancy holdings under section 30.
- (c) Claims to additional rent for additional area of occupancy holdings under section 52.
- (d) Claims for settlement of fair rent in holdings recorded as "liable to rent".
- (e) Claims for the substitution of the entry "Ryot Sthitiban" for "Ryot Mukarari" and for enhancement of rent.
- (f) Claims for the substitution of the entry "liable to rent" for the entry "rent free".

In some cases the tenant defendants claimed mokarari status under section 105A, on payment of *ad valorem* court-fees where they had been recorded as settled raiyats and in others claimed to be rent free where they had been recorded as liable to rent.

When case work began, the tenants put in an appearance, but subsequently they decided that no material benefit was to be derived by contesting the cases, but that an *ex parte* decree was likely to be more favourable to them. Thereafter they attended the case work camps, but without entering an appearance simply watched the proceedings.

Claims to enhancement of rent under section 30 were strongly resisted on the grounds that the cost of cultivation has greatly increased, the soil had deteriorated, the price of agricultural produce

was very low, and the land was therefore unable to bear a heavier assessment. There was some diversity of opinion regarding the decennial period which should be taken for comparison of prices with the decennial period prior to the settlement of the new rent. Ultimately it was decided to select the period proceeding the year in which the existing rent had been settled. Normally an enhancement of not more than 2 annas in the rupee was allowed, although the price table showed that legally a much larger increase was allowable. It had to be considered that the tenants had been hard hit by the economic depression, which had, when case work was in progress, been prevalent for 3 or 4 years, and showed no signs of lifting.

In claims for additional rent for additional area the landlords were unable to prove, except in a few cases, the existence of additional area for want of good and satisfactory evidence. The Maharaja of Mymensingh's Kansat estate, the Chowdhury estate of English Bazar, the Chanchal estate, and a few others had measurement papers and kabuliyats from which the existence of additional area could be satisfactorily established. The question of standard of rashi, or local measure, was carefully examined at this stage.

In cases where there were well drafted kabuliyats or other reliable collection papers it could be proved that the existing rent was settled after measurement at a certain rate per bigha; otherwise, it was almost impossible to prove that the tenants held any excess area. The Kansat, Talonda, Taherpur and Chowdhury estates have many such kabuliyats, supported by jamabandi and collection papers. The Chanchal and Rajbanaili estates had petty settlement records. In their jamabandi and other papers relating to settlements, the signature or thumb impression of the tenants were taken as a guarantee that these papers were genuine. The kabuliyats and other papers were supported by oral evidence to the effect that in practice settlements were made after measurement. A general stipulation in the kabuliyats was that the landlord reserved the right of assessing excess area although the rent was consolidated.

In some cases the landlords produced the documents of neighbouring tenants to show that the practice existed of



measuring lands when settlements are made. This evidence was considered inadequate to warrant an order for increased rent on account of increased area.

In the Barind, claims under this section were generally proved without difficulty. Many settlements were of recent date and were based either on kabuliyats or on agreements known as amalnamas, which contained the tenants' signatures. In these the standard of measurement, area and rent were mentioned. In many of the holdings it was noted that the landlord's khas land lay adjacent to the area settled.

Fair rents were settled for holdings recorded as liable to rent with due consideration to the rent of similar lands, with similar advantages or disadvantages in the vicinity. Many cases were amicably settled as no rates of rent could be proved. In a few cases the tenant defendants put in a claim of rent-free status after payment of *ad-valorem* court-fees. These cases were decided mostly in favour of the landlords.

In cases for or against the entries mokarari and rent free, the evidence was very similar to that adduced at attestation, with this difference that some of the landlords had equipped themselves with more papers in support of their contentions. In cases concerning mokarari entries the tenants had to rely on rent receipts covering 20 years, and showing that there had been no alteration of rent during that period. The landlords rebutted the presumption raised under section 50, Bengal Tenancy Act, by proving that the holdings had been created, or that the rent had been altered after the Permanent Settlement. The evidence most commonly adduced by the landlords consisted of kabuliyats, settlement, and collection papers.

There were some cases in which tenants claimed rent-free status on holdings which had been recorded as liable to rent. They produced old sale deeds or transfer deeds in which the land had been described as rent free. Evidence was also produced to show that they had no rented land in the village. In some cases certified copies of returns filed by landlords in cess revaluation proceedings were produced. But in the majority of cases long possession without payment of rent was the

basis on which rent-free claims were made.

In cases filed against the entry rent-free, the onus of proof was on the landlord to show that the entry was wrong and should have been liable to rent. The production of jamabandi papers unsupported by collection papers showing realisation of rent was not considered adequate evidence to establish the landlords claim. The Raj Banaili estate was able to establish some claims against rent-free entries by producing the petty settlement records of 1886 in which the lands were recorded as rented lands or as their khas lands.

The Chanchal and Raj Banaili estates attempted to claim enhancement on the ground that the existing rate of rent was lower than that prevailing in the locality for lands of similar description and with similar advantages. These estates had papers to show that the lands had been assessed according to rates based on the classification of the soil. The number of such cases was small and most of them were compromised at a rate of rent which was fairly advantageous to the tenants.

The Chanchal Raj estate filed some cases claiming to add "Hajat Bad" to the existing rent. It was contented that "Hajat Bad" means a temporary remission of rent granted to some privileged tenants in lieu of loyal service to the estate, and that when the service is no longer required or rendered, the estate is entitled to reimpose and collect the amount shows as "Hajat Bad". The system was introduced at the time when a general enhancement of rent was made. The assistance of the more influential tenants was secured and they were rewarded by a deduction from their rents. "Hajat Bad" was never actually realised and no services to the estate were rendered after the enhancement of rent. The claims were therefore not allowed.

There were 484 suits under section 106. They were generally filed for the correction of entries regarding possession, transfer of plots from one khatian to another, status, e.g., whether a tenant should be recorded as tenure-holder or raiyat, raiyat or under-raiyat; and rent, e.g., whether a holding should be rent-free or liable to rent. Transfers of plots were sometimes uncontested as all the interested parties agreed to the proposed corrections. Mutations

allowed by the landlords were cases in point. The contested cases of plot transfer contained various grounds such as disputed possession, or that the plot had been recorded in the incorrect khatian, or that the holding had been wholly or partly amalgamated. In some cases a share of plot, or a portion of a plot was the subject matter in dispute. Apart from the question of mokarari status the majority of cases were straightforward, and presented little difficulty.

There were 46 cases under section 108. Some applications were filed by cosharer landlords whose rents were not settled by the Case Work Officer, because they had not joined in the proceedings under section 188(2), which provides that the rent payable to cosharers should also be settled, whether or not they joined the application under section 105.

There were 358 cases under section 115B. Many applications were filed for correction of entries which were not due to *bona fide* mistakes,—such as subsequent changes due to mutations or transfers. Such applications were refused as the law does not contemplate corrections of this nature. In some cases joint applications were filed stating that the corrections sought to be made were the result of *bona fide* mistakes.

**114. Printing.**—The total number of interests to be printed was 447,035. As there were only two blocks in Malda and the number of interests was not large, it was decided to build the press shed at Rangpur, where cadastral work had already begun. Printing was started in 1931 with 5 presses for the khatians and one for the plot index. Necessary orders regarding the introduction of the various forms were obtained from the Director of Land Records in his letter No. XLIV/4-691 of 5th November 1931.

A senior Revenue Officer was selected to take charge of the printing. Each press had one peshkar, one assistant peshkar, 9 compositors, one pressman and two ink-boys. Payment was made at rates approved by the Director of Land Records in his letter No. VI/5-616, dated the 3rd November 1931. The compositors were paid at contract rates. In A block the names of possessors on the northern boundary were printed; but this was discontinued in B block, as it was considered to be unnecessary by Government in letter No. 6861L.R. of May 21st, 1932. In consequence a

deduction of half a line was made from the allowance for headings.

By July 1933, 330,000 interests had been printed. The remaining interests were printed along with the Rangpur records, which were then becoming ready for the press, and the costs were adjusted in proportion to the work done for each district. The average cost of printing including checking and sorting was As. 3-3 per khatian. The following 10 copies were printed :—

Public copy, Collector's copy, Sub-divisional Officer's copy, Munsif's copy, landlords' and tenants' copies, revisional copy, and 3 copies for sale. Subsequently the Subdivisional Officer's copy was omitted, and this was approved in Government letter No. 6068J. of 27th July 1932. It was considered unnecessary, in view of the fact that the Collector and the Subdivisional Officer both have their offices at headquarters.

In Harishchandrapur and Bholahat thanas unusually lengthy notes had to be printed in the remarks column against the rent columns of many khatians, owing to intricacies of partial kharij.

The average earning of a compositor was Rs. 37 a month. The number of lines came to 10 per khatian on the average, and the number of serious mistakes worked out to about 1.75 per cent. The cost rate of printing was As. 2-2, and of checking and sorting As. 1-1. This compares favourably with the rates in other settlements. The total cost of printing, checking and sorting was Rs. 91,400-14-6, and 16,459 lbs. of type, 2,535 reams of 75 per cent. rag paper, and 522 reams of proof paper were required.

The work of printing, checking and sorting was organised as follows :—

The first galley proof was compared with the draft record and made over to the compositor after correction. A second proof was taken after necessary corrections had been made to the galley, and a comparison was again made with the record to ensure absolute accuracy. The number of copies to be printed was then noted on the final proof and handed over to the compositor for printing. After printing, the khatians were sent to the checking and sorting section along with the draft records. The press staff were not allowed to make any corrections in the records after they had been printed.

In the checking section every interest was carefully compared with the draft record and a list of mistakes was prepared. A second check, known as the 20 per cent. check, was then made by selected and experienced muharrirs. The mistakes were classified into three kinds: Very serious, serious and slight. After these had been passed, the records were corrected, and the corrections of the printed record were noted in the block correction list, signed by the Revenue Officer, and appended to the public copy. A system of rewards and fines was maintained in the press. Rewards were given to the checkers who detected the largest number of mistakes, and fines were imposed on compositors whose work was found to be consistently careless.

The records were then made over to the sorting branch, where the khatians were sorted, and the copies to be distributed to landlords and tenants at recovery camps were stitched together. All sub-khatians were stitched to the khatian of the superior interest. The other copies of the record were arranged in this section, and then handed over to the book-binder.

The binding of khatians was done by a book-binder with whom an agreement had been concluded at the following rates:—

For volumes of the public copy	As. 12 each.
For volumes of Collector's copy	} As. 9.
For volumes of Subdivisional Officer's copy	
For volumes of munsif's copy	
Pocket for Collector's copy to contain the 16" sheets	.. As. 1 extra per mauza.

**115. Final publication.**—With the exception of villages affected by diara and jamabandi, notices for all the villages of one thana were issued well in advance of the recovery programme, and the records were kept open for public inspection for one month at the Sadar office. The Recovery Officers reported to Sadar the dates on which they proposed to commence recovery, and the certificates of final publication were signed on the date of the receipt of the information. The period of limitation for filing cases under sections 105, 106, and 115B, as well as the evidenciary value of the record of rights commenced from the date on which this certificate was signed. A statement showing the names of mauzas and the dates on which the certificates had been signed, was prepared and hung up on the notice

board for the information of the public, and a copy was sent to the Secretary of the Bar Association for publication.

**116. Computation.**—The actual cost rate was Rs. 1-4 per acre as against Rs. 1-6, which was the rate in the inception proposals. Under notifications No. 943T.R., dated the 29th October 1932, and No. 414L.R., dated the 27th March 1933, it was ordered that costs would be recovered from landlords and occupiers in the proportion of As. 12 and As. 8 per acre respectively. The work of calculating the cost recoverable from each assessee was carried out at headquarters with one peshkar and 20 muharrirs under the supervision of the Headquarters Assistant Settlement Officer. Owing to lack of accommodation in the office a house had to be rented for the computation section. A Bengali translation of the apportionment order published with the above notifications was printed and supplied to each muharrir for his guidance. All under-raiyats with occupancy rights were assessed at 4 annas per tenancy, but those without occupancy right were exempted from assessment.

A thorough check was made of the calculated costs, and all mistakes discovered were corrected; receipts were written out for each assessee; and then a careful comparison was made between the calculation sheet (demand register) and the receipts. These were then put up to the Headquarters Assistant Settlement Officer who checked the total of the calculated demands with the estimated demands and passed the total amount of cost to be recovered from each mauza.

It was the duty of this section to supply the recovery camps with a regular supply of printed records and maps and also to make all advance arrangements for recovery work.

**117. Recovery of costs.**—Recovery was started in 1932 at mufassal camps in charge of selected kanungos. In spite of the prevailing economic depression, the tenants paid their demands promptly and it was evident that they had been keeping the necessary money in readiness. The landlords and mahajans complained that the tenants had told them they would pay nothing by way of rent until the settlement costs had been paid and they had obtained their maps and khatians, the value of which they fully realised. The case was very different with the landlords.

Many of them had made no provision whatever to pay settlement costs, and they had to be continually reminded and harried before their dues could be realised. In a few cases where the demand was unusually large, special consideration was given. The Chanchal estate, which had to pay Rs. 70,000 in both blocks, was allowed instalments over several years, and made no default. There was some difficulty however with the Singabad estate, which had a demand of Rs. 23,000. This estate had no reserves, and its collection of rent was extremely poor, owing to its unsatisfactory management. It was difficult for the estate to raise a loan on reasonable terms, and it had to be allowed time to pay gradually. Even so, defaults in payment made it necessary to take recourse to certificate procedure, and in a few cases property had to be put up to sale. The property was not free from encumbrances and purchasers rarely appeared on the sale dates.

In some cases where transfers had taken place after final publication, it was argued by the purchasers that their predecessors in interest were liable to pay settlement costs. It was held however that the purchaser or present possessor is liable for the costs.

Progress was impeded in 1933 and 1934 owing to successive floods in the north of the district in Harishchandra-pur and Ratua thanas and in Bhutni diara of Manikchak thana. In these areas agricultural loans and gratuitous relief were granted by the Collector. The diara resumption proceedings delayed the completion of the recovery programme; and a rumour that in Murshidabad district time for payment of costs was allowed up to five or six years had to be counteracted.

In police-station Nachole a bogus recovery camp was started by several swindlers. They were about to start work when they were arrested by the police on suspicion. They had announced locally that they could arrange liberal terms for the payment of settlement costs, if they were paid a petition fee varying between Rs. 2 and Rs. 5. They were tried and convicted.

An amount of Rs. 2,987-10-6 was remitted by Government on the representations of the Suksena estate of Santal Parganas, and of some tenants of Bil Bhatia in thana Bholahat. In the former case it was stated that settlement costs had been paid in Santal parganas

a few years previously, and in the latter case it was contended that the area consisted of marshy land from which no return was received.

Among the landlords there were some who preferred to pay under certificate procedure, owing to the high rate of interest on loans. The interest on amounts under certificate is  $6\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., whereas the ordinary rate of interest demanded by mahajans is more than double. There were others who made a point of paying nothing from their existing resources, but would only make payment from their collections of rent. Though all reasonable concessions were made, it had to be made plain to these dilatory squires that the recovery programme could not be indefinitely delayed and that for continued failure to pay up would result in the sale of their estates.

Recovery by certificate procedure was carried out by the Headquarters Assistant Settlement Officer and by the Assistant Settlement Officer in charge. Ordinarily no certificates were requisitioned unless it was found that all efforts to realise settlement costs amicably had failed, and payment was unnecessarily and intentionally delayed. Considering the total number of certificate cases the proportion in which it became necessary to sell the property,—about 2.5 per cent.—was very small. Certificates were filed in respect of all pending demands for Re. 1 or more. Considering the floods of 1933 and 1934, and the low price of agricultural produce, recovery by certificate procedure was satisfactory, if rather slow, and it was seldom necessary to put property to sale. When this was done, every facility was given to enable the defaulters to pay, and the sales were even adjourned in some cases. This was a concession which should not have been made. The results of certificate procedure were as follows:—

Total number of cases	...	3,387
Cases in which actual sale took place	...	86
Total amount to be recovered by certificate procedure	...	Rs. 2,84,464
Total amount realised	•	Rs. 2,68,544
Total interest realised		Rs. 7,250

Cases against raiyats were few. They only became necessary when there were many co-sharers, when the owner could not be traced, when the holding had

been sold, or when it was heavily encumbered. When such holdings were put up to sale very few bidders came forward, owing to the last two reasons, and attempts to sell the holdings locally proved unsuccessful.

## Chapter II—Jamabandi.

**118. Programme and procedure.**—Many khas mahal and temporarily-settled estates did not become due for revisional settlement during the course of the district operations. These included the largest temporarily-settled estate in the district—Panchanandapur and the town khas mahal of English Bazar. Only 16 Government estates and 5 temporarily-settled private estates were taken up for revision. The existing revenue was Rs. 8,962-7-8 and the revenue fixed during jamabandi was Rs. 10,762-10—an increase of Rs. 1,800-2-4, or 20 per cent. The increase was obtained mainly on the ground of a rise in the price of staple food crops, but was also due to the extension of cultivation since the previous settlement. In some cases rents were decreased owing to a decrease in area, caused by diluvion. The work did not present any special difficulties.

In the previous jamabandi, the settlement of rent was based on different classifications of land. Different rates were adopted for different classes of land, such as bastu (homestead), bagan (garden), and for arable land, aual, doem, and seom, representing first class, second class, and third class land. The preliminary proposals for a few estates were drawn up on the same system; but it was found that in the case of many tenants the resulting rent was inequitable. In some cases it was more than double the previous rent. The reason was that the classifications adopted by our settlement were different from those of the previous settlement. For example, in the previous settlement the classification bastu (homestead) was made applicable only to the area actually covered by dwelling houses; whereas the classification now followed covers the courtyard, and any tanks, gardens or the like appertaining to the homestead. The consequence was that in many cases the area of homestead plots increased to many times the area previously recorded, and there was similarly a large increase in rent, as the rate for homestead land

was the highest of all the rates at the previous settlement.

It was then decided with the approval of the Director of Land Records to discard the system of classifying lands, and to proceed under section 30 (b), Bengal Tenancy Act, subject to the condition that the rents so fixed should not exceed the average rate of rent paid for land with similar advantages by occupancy raiyats in neighbouring mauzas. Any rents which were as high as, or higher than the average rate in neighbouring mauzas were maintained under section 27, Bengal Tenancy Act, as being fair and equitable. When existing rents were lower than the average rate, enhancements were allowed under section 30 (b) of the Tenancy Act. It was found on comparing the prices of the decennial periods prior to the present and the previous settlements that the enhancements legally permissible varied between As. 1-9 and As. 6-7 per rupee. But in view of the economic conditions then prevailing, the maximum enhancement actually taken was As. 2 in the rupee.

**119. Notes on estates.**—The following are notes on any features of interest connected with jamabandi proceedings.

Mahal Khopakati, Tauzi No. 828, is a Government estate which was transferred to this district from Purnea. When jamabandi was taken up it was found that the rate of rent was unusually high in comparison with the rates in neighbouring mauzas. As it was not considered possible at that time to reduce existing rents except under section 38, Bengal Tenancy Act (which had no application in this case) and as no enhancement was possible, the proceedings were dropped. The papers of the previous settlement showed that the Revenue Officer who settled the existing rent was under the impression that the tenants, who were recorded as non-occupancy raiyats at the last settlement, were about to acquire occupancy rights without any payment of salami, and accordingly it would be unfair to Government if they were assessed at prevailing rates. It must be confessed that this reasoning is open to criticism.

In mauza Chowdala, Government estate No. 278, police-station Gomastapur, it was found that a demarcation had been erroneously made during the previous settlement, as a result of which



about 100 acres of Government land had been excluded in favour of the neighbouring proprietor, the Taherpur Raj. The omission was detected after the area had been attested, and when the khas mahal map was being compared and verified. Re-attestation became necessary, and the excluded area, which was in possession of the Taherpur Raj, was recovered without difficulty. The error was due to the fact that the district kanungo started the demarcation from a wrong point.

Government estate Rampur, Tauzi No. 489, police-station Kharba, had existed in name only prior to the district operations. The land of this estate was traced after a relay of the thak chaks and was found to be in possession of a private proprietor. The existing rents were maintained as fair and equitable. The neighbouring proprietor claimed possession of the estate, but his claim was disallowed. It is understood that he will test the legality of his claim in the civil court. The estate had previously been shown as without demand, because earlier attempts to locate it had met with strong objection, and it was therefore considered advisable to wait for the district operations. An objection was filed against the accuracy of the relay of the thak chaks, but it was not substantiated.

In Tauzi No. 473, a Government estate, there had been a long standing dispute between the farmer and the proprietor of the adjoining estates. A compromise was effected between the Collector and the proprietors of all the interested estates on the basis of the original resumption proceeding of 1833 and not on the basis of the previous settlement maps and records. The result was that some land had to be released in favour of the private proprietors but the agreement has put an end to a long standing dispute.

In some estates the existing rate of rent for homestead land was found to be unduly high. In Tauzi No. 693 the rate was as high as Rs. 15 per acre, and in Haripur khas mahal, Tauzi No. 88, it was Rs. 13-8 per acre. The latter estate is inhabited largely by Santals. Although the rate of rent for agricultural land in these estates is reasonably low, the addition of such high rates for homestead land tends to force up the average rate of rent for holdings. This fact was taken into consideration when assessing rents.

**120. Objections.**—There were altogether 188 objections, of which 136 were filed under section 104E of the Tenancy Act and the rest under rule 337A of the Survey and Settlement Manual. Of these 118 were allowed. The majority of the objections were based on the ground that the rent proposed was excessive, that the soil had deteriorated since the last settlement of rent, that the land was unable to bear a higher rent, that the price of agricultural produce had decreased, and that the classification of land had been arbitrarily made. Most of the appeals that were allowed were against the method of classification of land which was adopted in the first few estates to be taken up. As has been previously mentioned this system of assessment was abandoned. In a few cases the tenants applied for a reduction of rent but they were unable to substantiate the grounds. Abatement of rent in proportion to areas diluviated was granted to those who applied for it. All objections were enquired into locally by the Jamabandi Officer and the rent was settled in the presence of the tenants with due consideration to the circumstances of each case. All the objections were contained in 9 estates.

No appeals were filed against the decisions under section 104E, Bengal Tenancy Act.

**121. Regulation II of 1819.**—There were two resumptions under Regulation II of 1819. In mauza Jalkar Bithan there was reason to believe that a considerable beel area, which is now largely under cultivation, had been excluded from the assets of the estate at the time of the Permanent Settlement. The earliest available map showed the area as a beel, and the old papers referred to it as "khas" Jalkar Bithan, which evidently meant that the area was still in the khas possession of Government.

Proceedings under Regulation II of 1819 were accordingly drawn up, but ultimately they had to be dropped as the proprietor was able to produce satisfactory evidence showing that the whole pargana, in which Jalkar Bithan is situated, had been settled "Bil Mokta" with his predecessor in interest. "Bil Mokta" is a term meaning "fixed" or "consolidated", and in this case it meant that the whole pargana had been settled in a lump.



In the other case a great deal of trouble was caused by the supposed existence of a gap in the Revenue Survey maps between mauzas Harachandrapur, a Government estate appertaining to Tauzi No. 616, and mauza Chandipur, police-station Manikchak, which is the property of a private proprietor. The 'gap' extended over an area of more than 300 acres, and the question of its assessment to revenue had been pending since 1923. Resumption proceedings were started under Regulation II of 1819, but they had to be dropped as a revenue survey map of Chandipur, dated 1842, was subsequently discovered, which showed that no gap actually existed. The so-called gap was situated at the junction of the revenue surveys of Bengal and Bihar, in an area where constant change is in progress owing to the movements of the Ganges. Tauzi No. 616 originally belonged to this district. It was then transferred to Santal Parganas with the change in the course of the main stream of the Ganges. A few years ago it was retransferred to Malda for the same reason, and when the land appeared from the bed of the river, the proprietors of the Suksena estate took possession of it as part of their own private estate. It was recovered amicably after long correspondence with the Deputy Commissioner of Dumka. A new tauzi number—No. 823—was given to the area of the Suksena estate, and the original tauzi number of Harachandrapur—No. 616—is now a small estate lying to the north of the Suksena property.

This resumption case was taken over by the Diara Officer along with the other resumption cases on the Ganges under Regulation IX of 1847. His recommendation that proceedings should be dropped was accepted by the Board of Revenue.

**122. Assessment of revenue and rent.**—The usual principles were followed in fixing the allowances of proprietors and tenure-holders, and in assessing the rent of under-raiyats.

The allowances ordinarily granted to proprietors were 10 per cent. on account of collection charges, and 20 per cent. as profit. The owners of estates which were newly created were however given a total allowance of 40 per cent. on condition that they waived their right to contest the legality of the proceedings in

the civil court. In cases where the proprietors refused to take settlement, the estates were kept under direct management and 5 per cent. of the net profits was granted as malikana.

The allowance of tenure-holders varied from 15 per cent. to 25 per cent. The normal rate was 20 per cent. When a tenure was sublet to another tenure-holder, the superior tenure-holder was given 5 per cent. and the tenure-holder who actually realised rent from the tenants was given 15 per cent. for collection charges and profit.

Khas lands, in possession of proprietors, are often better than the ordinary, and in such cases were assessed at 50 per cent. above the raiyati rate of rent; but where the land is not better, it has been assessed at the ordinary raiyati rate.

The rents of under-raiyats have in most cases been maintained, though the rates are high in comparison with the raiyati rate. The reason for these high rates is that prior to the amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act in 1929 the law was defective. Section 48 laid down that the rent of an under-raiyat could not exceed that of a raiyat by more than 50 per cent., and by 25 per cent. in cases where there was a registered agreement. But according to various rulings, this section was only applicable in cases where the interest of the under-raiyat was co-extensive with that of the raiyat landlord; in other words where the entire holding had been sublet to one under-raiyat. Consequently it was possible for raiyats to sublet portions of their holdings to various under-raiyats, and to charge a rate of rent without regard to any legal limit. It was found that the total of rent paid by various under-raiyats was often double or treble that of the raiyat.

In cases where the rent of under-raiyats was fixed during jamabandi proceedings, the principle adopted was that laid down in the amended section 48D (2) of the Tenancy Act, viz., that the rent assessed cannot be more than one-third of the estimated produce of the land.

Two statements are appended showing the result of jamabandi operations in the 16 Government estates and 5 temporarily-settled private estates, the increase of revenue, and the terms of settlement.

## APPENDIX I.

## List of Government estates revised during the operations.

Tausi No.	Name of estate.	Thana.	Revenue before settlement.	Revenue after settlement.	Period of the new settlement.	
					From—	To—
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		
35	Mauza Chapel ..	Nawabganj ..	30 0 0	77 8 0	1st April 1933 ..	31st March 1948.
41	Charl Mirzapur ..	Sibganj, Nawabganj, Nachole ..	607 6 0	658 2 0	Ditto ..	Ditto.
88	Haripur ..	Habibpur ..	356 15 0	607 3 0	Ditto ..	Ditto.
270	Bashudebpur ..	Harishchandrapur ..	25 12 0	29 0 0	1st April 1932 ..	31st March 1947.
272	Japti Manikchak ..	Manikchak ..	299 4 0	379 2 0	1st April 1933 ..	31st March 1948.
473	Daulatnagar ..	Harishchandrapur ..	33 11 0	63 11 0	Ditto ..	Ditto.
482	12½ bighas Taraf Sanjib ..	Kharba ..	64 14 4	83 0 0	1st April 1932 ..	31st March 1947.
484	Harishchandrapur ..	Harishchandrapur ..	62 13 9	79 12 0	Ditto ..	Ditto.
485	Ditto ..	Ditto ..	55 9 0	142 0 0	1st April 1933 ..	31st March 1948.
487	Baraitalgachi ..	Ditto ..	15 1 0	23 0 0	1st April 1932 ..	31st March 1947.
489	Rampur ..	Kharba ..	Untraced	71 0 0	Ditto ..	Ditto.
612	Decreed portion of Char Mirzapur.	Sibganj, Nachole ..	139 13 0	164 10 0	1st April 1933 ..	31st March 1948.
616	Harochandrapur ..	Manikchak ..	279 6 0	288 4 0	Ditto ..	Ditto.
693	Chainpara ..	Kaliachak ..	215 7 0	248 11 0	Ditto ..	Ditto.
823	2,336 bighas of land in mauza Harachandrapur.	Manikchak ..	1,840 0 0	1,977 11 0	1st April 1936 ..	31st March 1951.
825	Doani Tausir ..	Ditto ..	3,921 10 0	4,304 0 0	1st April 1933 ..	31st March 1948.
			7,947 10 11	9,196 10 0	Increase of Rs. 1,248-15-1.	

## APPENDIX II.

## List of temporarily-settled estates revised during the operations.

Tausi No.	Name of estate.	Thana.	Revenue before settlement.	Revenue after settlement.	Period of settlement.	
					From—	To—
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		
278	Deara Choudala ..	Gomostapur ..	646 5 0	991 0 0	1st April 1934 ..	31st March 1949.
547	Deara Tehara ..	Manikchak ..	64 12 0	94 0 0	1st April 1933 ..	31st March 1948.
561	Deara Mahal Char Akandabaria.	Kaliachak ..	64 1 9	75 0 0	Ditto ..	Ditto.
765	Bedrabud ..	Ditto ..	120 10 0	113 0 0	Ditto ..	Ditto.
758	Deara Mahal Mohini Mohan Misra and others.	Ratusa ..	119 0 0	293 0 0	Ditto ..	Ditto.
			1,614 12 9	2,566 0 0	Increase of Rs. 551-8-3.	

### Chapter III—Diara Resumption.

#### 123. Programme and procedure.—

No resumption proceedings were taken up along small and narrow rivers of the district, such as the Tangan, the Purnabhaba, the Baramasia, and other minor rivers, as it was considered that the cost of the proceedings would not justify the results, even if all the resumptions were successful.

Twenty-three diara proceedings, comprising 114 cases, were started in connection with five rivers. Of these, two relate to the Ganges, two to the Pagla, two to the Mara Mahanada, four to the Kalindri, and remaining thirteen to the Mahanada.

Besides the above proceedings under Act IX of 1847, two proceedings, covering one case each, were taken up under Regulation II of 1819 for the resumption of accretions to revenue free estates.

The most peculiar feature of the diara operations in this district was the unfortunate fact that the proceedings of the special diara survey of the Ganges made in 1866-67 (which comprises not only the main stream but also its branch, the Pagla or, as it is also called, the Bhagirathi) could not be traced in any of the neighbouring district record rooms of this province or of the province of Bihar. Only an atlas containing the comparative maps was available. It was finally decided to resume only those accretions from the bed of the Ganges which were common to the special Ganges diara survey of 1866-67 and the revenue survey of 1847-49, thereby assuming that all that was resumable in 1866-67 had already been resumed.

Another noteworthy feature, to which reference has previously been made, was the fact that a portion of the district affecting the Mahanada and Kalindri rivers was revenue surveyed in 1844-45, while the main revenue survey took place in 1847-49. The proprietors concerned in these resumption cases made every endeavour to prove the accuracy of the revenue survey which was favourable to their respective cases, and urged that the other survey should be discarded. A similar situation arose when resumption proceedings were taken up on the section of the river Mahanada which forms the boundary between thana Kharba of Malda district and thana Itahar of Dinajpur district. Dinajpur was revenue surveyed in 1860-61 and thana Kharba in, 1847-49. The

earlier revenue survey was followed in respect of both banks as the legal presumption was that the site occupied by the river at the time of the Permanent Settlement would be shown in the earlier survey.

A number of Doem Qanun resumptions formed another of the peculiar features with which the Diara Officer had to deal. He had to leave out of his proceedings the areas released during Doem Qanun proceedings, whatever might be the ground on which the order of release was based. This point has been more fully discussed in the paragraph below which deals with the objections filed against resumption proceedings.

Another complication arose, in cases where accretions to lands in the same village, or in different villages of the same proceedings, were held jointly by the same set of estates but in different combinations of shares. For example:—

Village No. 1 is held by estates A, B and C in equal shares.

Village No. 2 is held by estate A, 12 annas; and estate C, 4 annas.

Village No. 3 is held by estate B, 4 annas; and estate C, 12 annas.

Village No. 4 is held by estate A, 2 annas; estate B, 6 annas; and estate C, 8 annas.

In such a case four diara estates were formed—one for each separate combination of proprietary shares in the mainland. Simplicity was a main consideration in framing the record, but it would have been difficult to make the actual state of affairs intelligible if only one diara estate had been created.

Another peculiar case which arose was one in which an 8-anna share of a permanently-settled estate had been escheated to the Crown in the absence of any heirs, and the share had subsequently been sold in auction, subject to the daimi assessment of revenue which was fixed after survey. The permanently-settled half of the original estate was liable to be assessed to revenue for the undivided 8-anna share in the accretion out of the revenue survey bed; but the daimi-settled half was liable to assessment only for the undivided 8-anna share of the accretion out of the bed through which the river flowed at the time of the daimi settlement, and not for that portion of the accretion out of

the revenue survey bed which had formed part of the assets at the daimi settlement. This gave rise to a most unusual situation. Even the quantity of land accreting to the two shares of the estate out of the two sets of river beds differed greatly, so that possession in the new diara estate could not be recorded in equal shares, as in the present estate. It was decided to adjust the shares in the diara area according to the assets to which each estate was entitled.

Babu Hemanga Lal Das Gupta, Sub-Deputy Collector, who was subsequently gazetted with the powers of a Collector under the Bengal Regulations and under Act IX of 1847, started and completed all the resumption proceedings taken up by this settlement. The surplus alluvial accretions on the banks and in the dried up beds of the rivers of this district were taken up on the strength of the Bengal Government notification No. 3855 L.R., dated the 13th April 1920, issued under section 3 of Act IX of 1847. The year of the notification is explained by the fact that a portion of this district along the Ganges was taken up by the Rajshahi Settlement party, and the present settlement took up the work where they had left off. Diara resumption on the Mahanada river in police-station Itahar of Dinajpur district was also completed along with the present settlement operations.

The 16-inch district settlement maps containing the rivers under resumption were reduced to the scale of 4 inches to the mile—the scale of the revenue survey maps—on the basis of 4-inch plots supplied by the Director of surveys. On this reduction the revenue survey boundaries of the 1844-45 and 1847-49 surveys were shown. In the case of the Ganges, and its offshoot the Pagla, the special diara survey line of 1866-67 was plotted in the office of the Director of Surveys, Bengal. These comparative maps served to indicate where accretions had occurred. The banks of the rivers according to those surveys were then pentagraphed onto the 16-inch district settlement maps and checked by means of proportional compasses. The limits of the accretions out of the revenue survey bed were then relaid and temporarily demarcated on the ground after giving due notice to the parties concerned.

The thak-bast maps in this district, being practically hand-sketches and not drawn to any scale, were incapable of

accurate relay, and were consequently ignored. In Dinajpur district there were thak-bast maps drawn to scale, in respect of the villages of police-station Itahar, but as the section of the river Mahanada which forms the boundary between Malda and Dinajpur was revenue surveyed in both districts, in the former in 1847-49 and in the latter in 1860-61, the earlier survey was followed in order to be as near to the Permanent Settlement as possible. Hence the thak maps of Dinajpur, though prepared to scale, were of no practical use for resumption purposes.

The original high bank could not be traced in any case. As a rule the revenue survey boundary was adopted as the limit of assessment, modified at places by existing field boundaries when these were found to lie close to, and run approximately parallel to, the revenue survey line as relaid. In respect of daimi-settled estates, however, daimi survey maps were followed.

The district settlement maps and records relating to the rivers under resumption were brought up to date after local investigation in the presence of the parties, who were called upon by notice to attend. After completion of the necessary calculations and preparation of the diara assessment rolls and khatians, proclamations for the attestation of the diara records and rent-rolls were issued according to the Government rules under the Bengal Tenancy Act. At the same time, in order to assess the surplus accretions under section 6 of Act IX of 1847, and to form them into separate estates under section 1 of Act XXXI of 1858, preliminary proceedings were drawn up and copies of the same were duly served on the proprietors and tenure-holders who had any interest in the area under resumption. Information was given to the tenants by proclamation in the mahal.

On the dates fixed, rents were settled, the proceedings were explained to the parties, and any inaccuracies found in the records were corrected. The diara records and maps were then draft-published for one month, inviting objections, if any.

The existing rents of the holdings were maintained, except in cases where only a portion of a holding fell in the diara area. In such cases the rent was split up in proportion to the area. When the landlords' papers proved that

a different rate of rent was actually realised for the diara area, that rate was adopted in splitting up the rent. In the case of mauzas which were taken up after the final publication of the record-of-rights, a note regarding this splitting up of rent was entered in the diara khatian to indicate that the rent recorded in the asli (mainland) khatian was inclusive of the rent of the diara lands which had accreted to it. It is expected that this note will prove useful in future, because it shows the actual state of affairs at the time of resumption.

The tenure-holders were assessed on the asset-basis and given an allowance of 20 per cent. out of the gross raiyati assets on account of collection charges and profit. Where there were several grades of tenure-holders an allowance of 10 per cent. was given to the one immediately above the cultivating raiyat and the balance of the 20 per cent. was divided as far as practicable among the rest according to their existing profits. Unproductive lands such as paths, sand and the like were left out of the assessment.

In respect of resumption of accretions to revenue free estates, the procedure, followed was similar in substance, but it was also necessary to obtain the sanction\* of the Divisional Commissioner under Article 5 (1) of Regulation II of 1819 before entering into an investigation of the case. After disposal of objections, if any, under section 104 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, notices under clause 4, section 10 of Regulation VII of 1822 were duly served on the proprietors, offering settlement at a revenue amounting to 70 per cent. of the gross raiyati assets for 15 years from the 1st April following. In case of recusance it was proposed to manage the estates khas and to give the recusant proprietors malikana at 5 per cent. of the net collections, according to rule 607 (iv) of the Settlement Manual.

When the entire body of proprietors accepted settlement without protest and executed an agreement not to contest the validity of the resumption in any court of law, they were granted an allowance of 40 per cent. on the assets for the first term of settlement only. In one or two cases the above concession was granted to part-proprietors who owned the major portion of the estate,

on condition that in case any of the recusant co-sharer proprietors might in future contest the resumption, the settlement holders would refund the extra 10 per cent. of the allowance together with interest at the rate then prevailing. In subsequent cases the Director of Land Records, Bengal did not allow this concession unless the entire body of proprietors joined in accepting the settlement as he was of opinion that otherwise the matter would be still open to litigation.

**124. Grounds of objection.**—The following are the principal grounds of objection. They are discussed in detail below :—

- (a) That the case maps and comparative maps had not been correctly drawn up.
- (b) That the resumption proceedings were vitiated by material irregularities and illegalities.
- (c) That the proceedings were barred by the principles of *res judicata*, waiver, estoppel, or limitation.
- (d) That the diara lands in question formed part of the settled lands of the objector's estate.

**125. Mahananda river.**—The Mahananda flows right through the centre of the district, and provided the largest number of resumption cases. Many of them were closely contested by important zamindars like the Maharaja of Mymensingh, the Hon'ble Maharaja of Dinajpur, the Maharaja of Cossimbazar, the Raja Bahadur of Taherpur and other resident and non-resident proprietors. As has been previously mentioned there were many resumptions, or rather attempts at resumption, under Regulation II of 1819. These were known as the Doem Qanun resumptions, and took place several years before the revenue survey, mostly between 1835 and 1845. There being no earlier maps for comparison at that time, large areas, containing hundreds of bighas, on the banks of the river or close to them, were made the subject of resumption proceedings simply because they had the appearance of chars. Most of these resumptions were as readily given up on grounds which do not appear to be very plausible. For example, the verbal testimony of the zamindar's karpardaz (agent) was accepted that the char in

\*Since the amendment of section 6 of Act IX of 1847 by Bengal Government notification No. 2 T.—L., dated the 16th April 1936, this sanction is no longer necessary.

question was "sikastir payasti" (reformation in situ). Other objections were to the effect that the river had never changed its course since the Permanent Settlement, or that there had been a decrease in the area of the estate below what was shown in the quinquennial and other earlier papers. These objections seem to have been accepted in many cases without sufficient inquiry into their merits. The Doem Qanun resumptions were mainly based on what is known as the system of "equivalent area," i.e., the new assessment was made only on the net increase in area, without regard to the geographical changes in the limits of the estate. In some cases the Doem Qanun Deputy Collector went so far as to say in his judgment that the Crown could not claim to resume accretions in small rivers like the Mahananda (*cf.* robakari of Doem Qanun Deputy Collector Mr. Francis Berring Kemp in resumption case No. 290, dated 22nd April 1845). This ruling was pressed in several of the present resumption cases to prove that the resumptions were barred on the principle of *res judicata*, but this contention could not be accepted. The orders in the Doem Qanun cases were final under clause 3, section 21 of Regulation II of 1819, so far as they related to the areas concerned in each proceeding, whatever the ground on which the order of release was based. Consequently the Diara Officer had to steer clear of the subject-matter of such Doem Qanun cases and to omit the areas which had previously been released. The above obiter dictum of the Doem Qanun Deputy Collector could not however be considered binding in other resumption cases in view of the famous Privy Council ruling (Secretary of State *versus* the Maharaja of Burdwan, reported in XXVI C.W.N. 620) which has now ended the controversy.

An interesting case arose in this connection during the proceedings on the Mahananda in police-station Bhola-hat (diara case No. 79 of 1933-34), where the Diara Officer held a local enquiry and made an attempt in mauza Nimgachi to relay the Doem Qanun map with the help of its chitha, although the map was not to scale. There were two pakur trees shown on the Doem Qanun map which were identifiable on the ground. A comparative map was prepared by measuring distances from these two trees according to the Doem Qanun chitha. Regarding this comparative map the Hon'ble Member,

Board of Revenue, observed as follows:—

"The Assistant Settlement Officer has made an elaborate attempt to relay this map with the result that, if his relay is correct, about two-thirds of the area proposed to be resumed was covered by the resumption proceedings of 1844 and a corresponding or larger area south of this was in 1844 in the river though west of the Revenue Survey map and in equity should be resumable instead. If a thak map is accepted in one part of a river in preference to the revenue survey, it is a principle that it must be accepted throughout. The same principle might be applied to the Doem Qanun map."

The Board did not however consider that it was possible to relay the Doem Qanun map with any accuracy and in resolution No. 1050 S. & S. of the 19th January 1935 confirmed the proceedings in which it was proposed that accretions out of the revenue survey bed should be assessed.

To prove that the proceedings were vitiated by material illegalities and irregularities the following were some of the principal grounds which were brought forward:—

(i) It was alleged that these resumption cases could not be started on the basis of a notification which was over 10 years old. The objectors apparently referred to Bengal Government notification No. 38551.L.R., dated the 13th April 1920, which was issued when resumptions in a portion of the district were taken up by the Rajshahi party. The objectors failed to show that there was any legal bar to the completion of resumption proceedings which were started 10 or 12 years ago but which had not become final, and had not received Government approval as provided by section 4, read with section 3, of Act IX of 1847.

(ii) In some cases it was argued that the onus was on Government to show what area was water and what area was land at the time of the Permanent Settlement, and reference was made to section 7 of Regulation II of 1819. This argument could not stand. It was pointed out to the objectors that "the machinery for assessment provided by Regulation II of 1819 had been very much altered by Act IX of 1847" [*cf.* the ruling of the Calcutta High Court



in the recent (1934) Malda case of Sri-gobinda Chowdhury *versus* Secretary of State]. On the question of onus, the objectors were also referred to the leading Privy Council ruling of Jagadindra Nath Ray *versus* Secretary of State (I.L.R. XXX, Calcutta 291).

(iii) The resumptions along the Mahananda in police-station Itahar of Dinajpur district concerned the estates of the Maharaja of Dinajpur. On his behalf it was strongly contended that the proceedings were vitiated by material irregularity and illegality inasmuch as they were based on the revenue survey of 1847-49 of Malda district, and not on that of 1860-61 of Dinajpur district. Particular attention was invited to the words "district" and "the last previous survey" in section 3 of Act IX of 1847. A very interesting ground of limitation was also raised and strongly contended in this case. It was argued on behalf of the objector that the enlargement of enquiry referred to in the Privy Council ruling in the case of Fahamedan-nessa Begum *versus* Secretary of State (I.L.R. 14, Calcutta 88) might be taken advantage of by the objector-proprietor but not by the Crown. Both the objections were disallowed by the Diara Officer, whose decision was upheld by the Hon'ble Board in resolution No. 12980 S. & S., dated the 29th August 1935, the relevant passage of which is as follows :—

"These are objections to the resumption proceedings under Act IX of 1847 in the dried up bed of the Mahananda as it was surveyed at the revenue survey of the district of Malda in 1846-49. There was another revenue survey of Dinajpur district in 1860. At that time, the Malda revenue survey river, in many of its bends, had shifted considerably to the west. The objector has raised a very interesting point. He says that under Act IX of 1847, the Revenue Officer can only make resumptions on the basis of two consecutive surveys. He says that the drying up of the revenue survey river came to their notice in 1860, when the survey of Dinajpur was made and that the resumptions of these lands ought to have taken place then. Now they are time-barred because the estate has been in possession for more than 60 years. He further maintains that if any resumptions be possible, it is proper that the revenue survey river of 1860 should be resumed on the basis of a comparison between the present survey and the last

survey of 1860-61, not the survey of 1846-49. As regards the second contention, the Board would be inclined to hold that it has considerable force if it had been the practice to interpret Act IX of 1847 literally, but in numberless cases the civil courts have held that the proprietor is entitled to produce evidence that the revenue survey river was in some other site at the period of the Permanent Settlement. It has been admitted in several rulings that Government has the same right. When, as in this case, there is definite proof which can be fully relied upon that the 1860 river was further to the east in 1847, it would be contrary to all precedents to resume an area which was definitely dry land 13 years before the survey.

"As regards the limitation, the plea must be accepted unless we agree with the Madras High Court (27 Mad. 16) that there is no limitation against the Crown unless a period of limitation has been fixed by some particular Act of the legislature. The objector relies on Regulation II of 1805 and Article 149 of the present Limitation Act, but the former was repealed in 1868 by Act VIII of that year. Article 149 of the Limitation Act applies only to suits, and proceedings under Regulation II of 1819 and Act IX of 1847 are not suits. The ruling of I.L.R. 53 Calcutta 561 seems to be absolutely clear on this point. The case referred to in 4 M.I.A., 466, was decided before Regulation II of 1805 was repealed.

"The Board therefore disallows the objections and approves of the assessment under section 6 of Act IX of 1847."

(iv) Another ground of objection was that the diara land in question formed part of the area already assessed to revenue. This was the main issue, and it was common ground in all objections. It was alleged that the accretion sought to be resumed was dry land at the time of the Permanent Settlement, and to prove this Rennell's map and other old papers were generally produced.

Rennell's maps were prepared before the Permanent Settlement for purposes other than revenue administration, and on too small a scale to admit of relay with any mathematical accuracy. Apart from this, there were no fixed points in Rennell's maps on which to base a relay. The only use which could be made of them was on the lines laid down by

the Privy Council in the case of Hara-das Acharyya Chowdhury *versus* Secretary of State (26 C.L.J. 590). Some of the objectors however made endeavours to prepare their own comparative maps showing what purported to be a relay of Rennell's river line. These amateur relays were based on certain well-known points or landmarks, but were found to have been fudged, up to a distance of one mile, in order to support the objector's case. It is interesting to note that in another case (diara case No. 19 of 1934-35) the objectors went so far as to allege in their petition of objection that "Rennell's map is a most reliable Government map to prove the river-bed of Mahananda as well as other rivers at the Permanent Settlement time." In their anxiety to escape assessment by proving that the revenue survey bed of the river was different from Rennell's bed, these objectors had shown Rennell's river in their comparative map as running right through their mauza Simultali. Had this been its position, it would have given a much greater area to resume than what was proposed according to the revenue survey map.

In some cases terij jama panchasana from 1206 B.S., terij rakbandi papers, daul kabuliyats, zamindari chithas of 1255 B.S., and other old papers were produced to prove that the diara land in question was dry land before the revenue survey. The only papers by which the lands could be identified were the zamindari chithas of 1255 B.S., but it was found for reasons given by the Diara Officer in his judgment, that they were not genuine, and the party considered it expedient not to press this point on appeal before the Board.

In diara case No. 17 of 1934-35 it was contended, among other grounds, that in calculating proportionate abatement of revenue on account of acquisition of land for public purposes, the mauza area had been recorded as that entered in the revenue survey Mahalwar registers, where half the area of the river bed was shown as appertaining to the objectors' estate. It therefore followed that the river bed had been assessed.

This specious argument could not be accepted. Reliance was placed on the authority of the recent (1934) High Court ruling (Srigovinda Chowdhury *versus* Secretary of State), which related to a similar case.

Resumption case No. 19 of 1934-35 referred to accretions to an estate which had been escheated to the Crown in the absence of heirs. It had been managed khas for some years and then, after survey, had been leased out in farm. Ultimately it was sold in auction in 1862 with revenue fixed on the assets as determined at the last ijara settlement. The objectors contended that the river and everything that went by the name of "lot Ranihati estate No. 209" had been sold, and not merely the acreage shown in the sale certificate. They relied on the authority of the ruling reported in XXIX C.W.N. 166.

The objection was disallowed by the Diara Officer because it was perfectly clear from an examination of the last ijara settlement papers and map what had been assessed and what left out of assessment. The advertisement of sale published in the *Calcutta Gazette* on the 5th July 1862 says: "the zamindari right of Government to the khas mahal will be put up to sale subject to several conditions, e.g., to existing leases and to the right conferred by settlement proceedings and laws in force."

Now the settlement proceedings indicated clearly that the river bed had been left out of assessment and the laws in force, e.g., Act IX of 1847 and Regulation II of 1819, make diara accretions liable to assessment. During the present settlement operations the accretions in question came up for investigation for the first time since the estate was settled with the objectors or their predecessors in interest. The authority relied upon by the objectors was thus found to be inapplicable and the Diara Officer's decision was upheld by the Board on appeal.

(v) In Case No. 78 of 1934-35 the then Collector, acting as ex-officio Settlement Officer, heard an appeal from the decision of the Diara Officer, who had not then been gazetted with the powers of a Collector under Regulation II of 1819. The Collector ordered the release of 14.11 acres of accretion in mauza Chandidaspur and 41.62 acres in mauza Gossainbari on the ground, which was not contained in the petition of appeal, that mauza Chari Mirzapur (Government estate No. 41) had been created by resuming alluvial accretions. Consequently it was presumed that at the time of the Permanent Settlement the river occupied the site of mauza Chari Mirzapur.

The matter vitally affected Government's interest and had consequences reaching beyond the subject matter of the present case. The Diara Officer submitted an elaborate note in his general report showing that the Collector's assumptions might not be correct in view of the reasons given in the general report. The Collector's recommendation for release was not accepted by the Board, who confirmed the proceedings by resolution No. 4266 S. & S. dated the 11th March 1935.

(vi) Case No. 1 of 1934-35 under Regulation II of 1819 related to an accretion to a revenue-free estate. In this case the objector argued, among other things, that according to the preamble of Act IX of 1847 all resumption proceedings with regard to accretions must be taken up according to the provisions of that Act, and assessed under section 6; but as section 6 was applicable only to revenue-paying estates, there was no ground for resumption of the objector's estate, which had been held revenue free under a sanad granted long before the Permanent Settlement, in 1058 Hijri.

The objector also relied on a portion of the Privy Council ruling in the Burdwan Case (26 C. W. N. 619) and contended that he was the owner up to the middle of the stream according to revenue survey map, and that his ownership was of such a nature as not to be chargeable with revenue. Another point that was raised was that in this case no comparison could legally be based on the revenue survey maps as the revenue free grant was made long before the Permanent Settlement. This argument was ingenious, and was intended to act as a stopper to all resumption proceedings in respect of accretions to revenue-free properties. The Diara Officer, however, found that though the objector was the owner of the alluvial formations which had accreted to his revenue-free property, he was still liable to be assessed to revenue. The law says that "the increment of land shall not in any case be understood to exempt the holder of it from the payment to Government of any assessment for the public revenue". [proviso to the first clause of Article 4 of Regulation XI of 1825 read with Article 3 of Regulation II of 1819.] No evidence was forthcoming to prove that the accretions were covered by the revenue-free grant; and as the

only means of ascertaining whether accretions have actually occurred is to compare the present map with the Revenue Survey map, the procedure of Act IX of 1847 was followed to ascertain the extent of the accretions, and the actual assessment of revenue was made under Regulation II of 1819. This decision was upheld on appeal by the Board in resolution No. 17166-S. & S., dated the 20th November 1935, in which it is observed:—"...the Board cannot admit that the action of a particular surveyor could prejudice the right of Government as the paramount power to assess to revenue under the Regulations, lands which at the time of settlement were not parts of revenue-paying estates. The same principle ought to apply to revenue-free estates because they are really estates settled on no revenue permanently". The amendment of section 6 of Act IX of 1847 (Bengal Government notification No. 2 T.—L., dated the 15th April 1936) obviates this difficulty for the future.

(vii) There are no distinguishing features in the resumptions along the Mora Mahananda which are not covered by the resumption proceedings on the Mahananda.

#### 126. Ganges and Pagla rivers.—

(viii) The proceedings of the special Ganges diara survey of 1866-67 relating to this district unfortunately could not be traced. Only the volumes containing the comparative maps were found in the Malda record room. Every attempt was made to trace the proceedings in this and in all the neighbouring Collectorates of Bengal and Bihar, but without success. The Surveyor-General of India was also unable to give any information. It was therefore considered advisable to presume that all accretions shown in the diara survey comparative maps of 1866-67 were either resumed or given up as not resumable for valid reasons. Consequently it was decided to resume only accretions out of the bed common to the revenue survey of 1847-49 and the Ganges diara survey of 1866-67. It may be noted that during the Ganges diara survey, resumptions were based mainly on the system of jama-kharach or equivalent areas, i.e., only accretions in excess of an area equal to the former area of the estate were resumed, instead of, as the law requires, all accretions lying outside its former limits. It is therefore very

probable that an additional area, the extent of which cannot be estimated, might have been resumed, had we been able to trace the resumption proceedings in which were given the reasons for the omission to resume.

**127. Kalindri river.**—(ix) The only noteworthy case on the river Kalindri was diara case No. 26 of 1934 in mauza Pichli J. L. No. 40 of thana English Bazar, where it was proposed to resume 61·34 acres as surplus accretion to estate No. 277— a tauzi which had been daimi settled in 1862. The daimi map was relaid on the present settlement map with the help of the measurements in the daimi chitha of 1862, and with the help of land-marks such as pakur trees, paths, and sites of holdings which were identifiable on the maps as well as on the ground.

The settlement robakari and chitha proved that the river had been left out of assessment. But unfortunately the entire area of mauza Pichli, including that of the river, which passes right through it, was entered in the daimi kabuliyat without any condition or reservation. This gave rise to peculiar circumstances which the Director of Land Records described as follows in his report to the Board :—

“ . . . There is no doubt that the river bed was settled by that kabuliyat but it seems equally clear that it was not assessed. The question is whether the final revenue determined was a lump revenue, covering and including the river bed, or whether it was on the cultivated land thus found, and subsequent accretions were liable to assessment.

“It is obvious therefore that no separate estate can be formed for such subsequent accretions, as the river bed was clearly included in the area settled, but equally I find it difficult to justify an increase of revenue in an estate which was permanently settled after survey unless the ruling in the Damodar cases can be taken to cover such a case as well.”

The Board in resolution No. 335-S. & S., dated the 14th January 1936, observed as follows :—

“ . . . 1864 bighas were settled altogether, but only 1,388 bighas were actually assessed. The balance was left unassessed and described as krishir ajogya (unfit for cultivation) . . . The Board has no doubt at all that the

river has moved southwards leaving a considerable block of land fit for cultivation which was river bed at the time of the daimi settlement. The Board does not think that it would be fair, however, in this particular case to increase the revenue fixed in 1862 by the assets of the land which has thus dried up, without making a deduction for the assets of the land which has been washed away by the change of the river. The Board, in fact, agrees with the remarks in paragraph 6 of the Director of Land Records, Bengal's letter of the 25th October 1935. The revenue was fixed for the whole area of the village and the whole village was settled. No separate estate can be formed in such a village. Particular accretions cannot be assessed with a view to increasing the total revenue without a complete re-assessment of the whole estate. The resumption proceedings will therefore be dropped.”

Another case which was eventually dropped under the orders of the Board was a resumption proceeding on the Mahananda in police-station Nachole. The river flowed in a semicircular course both during the present operations and at the time of the revenue survey; but a remark had been entered on the body of the map by the Doem Qanun amin to the effect that formerly the course of the river was straight, i.e., along the diameter of the semicircle. There was also a map prepared by the Doem Qanun Deputy Collector himself after local enquiry into this case. It does not contain any mention of the former course of the river, but at the same time the Deputy Collector did not cancel the Doem Qanun amin's map. The grounds for resumption were however insufficient, and the Board ordered that the proceedings should be dropped.

**128. Progress and results.**—Altogether 117 proceedings were started under Act IX of 1847 and under Regulation II of 1819. Of these, 21 were released by the Board, 16 having been recommended for release in the Diara Officer's general report. The remaining 96 cases were confirmed almost in the form in which they were submitted. Both the cases for resumption of accretions to revenue-free estates under Regulation II of 1819 were confirmed.

It is usually difficult to complete resumption work according to the timetable, originally fixed. Parties can

never move as quickly as the Settlement Department would like, but if they are hustled too much, grounds of objection which may bar or nullify the resumption may not come out until the appellate stage before the Board, or before the civil courts. There may thus be a considerable loss of time and money, which could have been avoided in the earlier stages. Progress was also delayed initially by the fact that the diara work in this settlement was taken up rather late. Even when the Diara Officer joined in August 1932, not a single comparative map had been received, and consequently he had to be given objections to hear, and a certain amount of jamabandi work. On receipt of the comparative maps it was found that in some cases the revenue survey river flowed through quite a different set of mauzas at a considerable distance from the present bed. The result was that mauzas which were held up for diara work had to be released at once, and others had to be taken up instead.

The Director of Land Records, during his inspection in July 1934, came to the conclusion that the operations were rather too far behind programme; so in order not to hold up all the stages he directed that the diara work should be taken up after final publication, with the exception of those proceedings which were almost complete at the time. As many diara records and 16" sheets as possible were sent to the press and the drawing section at Rangpur, and the preparation of statistics was pushed on in the Malda office. The work in the drawing section and in the press could not be finished as quickly as was required, and there was a corresponding delay in all the subsequent stages, especially in the final publication of the records. This naturally impeded the progress of diara work, which had to be taken up after final publication. On the other hand, the other stages of the programme, such as statistics, recovery and case work, were able to proceed without waiting for the diara maps and records.

This decision however led to a legal difficulty. On reference to the Legal Remembrancer, the Director of Land Records instructed the Diara Officer that the application of section 104 of the Bengal Tenancy Act is obligatory whenever settlement of land revenue is being made, even when the

case comes under the present section 191 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. The Legal Remembrancer was of opinion that "Section 191 only lays down the substantive law but the objective law and the law of procedure remain in section 104 of the Act." The language of section 191 does not imply any material change either in the law or the procedure. The procedure applicable to proceedings under Chapter X, Bengal Tenancy Act, should be strictly followed. It therefore follows that in the rent settlement in diara cases to be taken up after final publication of the records, a fresh notification under section 101, Bengal Tenancy Act, will be necessary and the procedure of section 104, Bengal Tenancy Act, observed."

Thus it was only after the publication of fresh gazette notifications Nos. 12577 L.R. and 6058 L.R. under section 101 (i) of the Bengal Tenancy Act on 25th November 1934 and 25th April 1935, respectively, that the diara work for the remaining area was started *de novo* after final publication.

In order to reduce overhead charges to the minimum, the Diara Officer was asked by the Director of Land Records to make a great effort to complete the work up to the stage of submission of all resumption cases to the Board, by March 1936. It reflects great credit on the Diara Officer that he was able to comply with this request. The last Malda diara appeal was heard by the Hon'ble Board in the third week of September 1936.

As a result of the diara operations 88 new estates have been created in Malda with an additional revenue of Rs. 11,982-3. The increase is a substantial addition to the existing revenue demand of the district. In cases where proprietors have proved recusant, the new estates will be managed khas. This will not present any difficulty, as the Khas Mahal Department already manages estates in practically all the thanas where diara estates have been created. The extra management involved will not be much, as the landlords who are liable to pay the greater part of the newly assessed revenue have accepted settlement, and some of the proprietors who originally proved recusant subsequently applied for settlement. When the first batch of proprietors proved recusant, the then Collector of Malda issued notices through the Khas Mahal staff in which hopes were



held out that a more moderate revenue might be assessed. The result of these notices was unfortunate. Not only did they lead to an increase in the number of recusant proprietors, and encourage willing proprietors to turn recusant, but they nullified to some extent the notices issued by the Diara Officer under section 10 of Regulation VII of 1822, in which revenue had been fixed at 70 per cent. of the assets. Some of the proprietors openly stated that they had nothing to gain by accepting the settlement offered by the Diara Officer, when they expected to get the revenue fixed at a lower percentage by the Collector.

As a result of the operations along the river Mahananda in police-station Itahar, 8 new estates were created in Dinajpur district with an additional revenue of Rs. 510. The proprietors of all the newly created estates accepted settlement, with the exception of one estate having a revenue of Rs. 19.

In a small district like Malda, where accretions in compact blocks along big rivers had already been resumed by the Rajshahi party, and only scattered accretions along smaller rivers remained, the result of the resumption proceedings may be considered to be very

creditable. It is a matter of satisfaction that the proprietors who are liable for the bulk of the newly assessed revenue have accepted settlement, some without protest. Consequently the likelihood of expenditure on litigation is remote.

In spite of the fact that resumption proceedings had to be taken up very late, and even then many had to be started *de novo* for the reasons given above, the cost of the proceedings, including those in police-station Itahar of Dinajpur, amounted to Rs. 19,829 for 7,605·81 acres actually resumed, or about Rs. 2·9 per acre. This figure is less than the figures of the Jessore and Midnapore Settlements, where the costs were Rs. 3 and Rs. 2·10 per acre respectively, but a little more than those of the Dacca and Mymensingh Settlements, where the costs were Rs. 2·5·3 and Rs. 2 per acre respectively. The areas resumed in those settlements, however, were much larger and more compact,—factors which operate to reduce costs. It may therefore be concluded that in spite of the various difficulties already described, the diara work was carried through economically and efficiently.

Below is given a list, with relevant details, of the new estates created:—

List of resumption proceedings of alluvial accretions.

Serial No. of proceeding.	Name of river.	Thana.	Case No.	Tauzi No.	Area.	Assets.	Revenue.	Confirmed or released.	Proceeding under what law.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	Mahananda ..	Harishchandra-pur.	1 and 2 of 1932-33.	829 and 830	99·35	Rs. a. p. 302 5 0	Rs. a. p. 187 4 0	Confirmed	Act IX of 1847.	Revenue takes effect from April 1934.
2	Ditto ..	Kharba ..	3 to 11 of 1933.	831 to 839	282·32	667 3 0	492 14 0	Do.	Do.	Ditto.
3	Pagla ..	Sibganj ..	37 and 38 of 1934-35.	841	10·87	28 11 0	21 15 0	Case No. 38 confirmed. Case No. 37 released on recommendation.	Do.	Revenue takes effect from April 1936.
4	Kalindri ..	Harishchandra-pur.	14 to 22 of 1933.	842 to 850	175·74	592 12 3	419 11 0	Confirmed	Do.	Revenue takes effect from April 1935.
5	Pagla ..	Kallachak ..	27 to 36 of 1934-35.	851 to 853	12·23	15 0 0	13 11 0	Case Nos. 32, 34 and 35 confirmed and other released on recommendation.	Do.	Revenue takes effect from April 1936.



Serial No. of proceeding.	Name of river.	Thana.	Case No.	Tauzi No.	Area.	Assets.	Revenue.	Confirmed or released.	Proceeding under what law.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
6	Mahananda ..	Gojole ..	53 to 57 of 1933.	878 to 882	73.24	Rs. a. p. 92 5 3	Rs. a. p. 76 5 0	Confirmed	Act IX of 1847.	Revenue takes effect from 1st April 1934.
7	Ditto ..	Ratua ..	58 of 1933.	883	11.75	61 1 0	58 5 0	Do.	Do.	Ditto.
8	Kalindri ..	Manikchak ..	59 and 60 of 1933.	884 and 885	362.00	749 2 0	689 13 0	Do.	Do.	Ditto.
9	Mahananda ..	Habibpur ..	61 to 63 of 1933.	886 to 888	111.32	81 10 0	75 1 0	Do.	Do.	Ditto.
10	Ditto ..	Nachole ..	64 to 66 of 1933.	..	..	Dropped under Board's resolution No. 346 S. & S., dated the 10th January 1935.				
11	Kalindri ..	Ratua ..	67 to 73 of 1933.	892 to 898	860.86	1,555 8 9	1,349 1 0	Confirmed	Act IX of 1847.	Revenue takes effect from 1st April 1935.
12	Mahananda ..	Sibganj ..	74 to 78 of 1933-34.	901 to 903	176.38	337 6 4	249 2 0	Case Nos. 74 and 75 released on recommendation and others confirmed.	Do.	Ditto.
13	Ditto ..	Bholahat ..	79 to 82 of 1933-34.	904 to 907	950.70	2,118 6 2	1,823 9 0	Confirmed	Do.	Ditto.
14	Ditto ..	Gomastapur ..	83 to 91 of 1933-34.	908 to 915	803.99	2,310 9 8	1,610 2 0	Case No. 84 released on recommendation and others confirmed.	Do.	Ditto.
14A	Ditto ..	Ditto ..	39 of 1934-35.	916	67.36	24 1 0	17 0 0	Confirmed	Do.	Revenue takes effect from 1st April 1936.
15	Ditto ..	Malda ..	1 to 8 of 1934-35.	917 to 924	322.67	718 1 0	554 6 0	Do.	Do.	Ditto.
16	Ditto ..	Nawabganj ..	17 to 23 of 1934-35.	926 to 932	611.90	1,524 1 6	1,005 4 0	Do.	Do.	Ditto.
17	Ditto ..	English Bazar ..	9 to 16 of 1934-35.	934 to 940	188.66	501 1 0	327 9 0	Case No. 14 released on recommendation and others confirmed.	Do.	Ditto.
18	Kalindri ..	Ditto ..	24, 25 and 26 of 1934-35.	942, 944	711.46	1,225 11 0	893 11 0	Case No. 26 released and others confirmed.	Do.	Ditto.
19	Ganges ..	Sibganj ..	40 to 42 of 1934-35.	861	856.74	2,067 13 0	1,447 0 0	Case Nos. 41 and 42 released and Case No. 40 confirmed.	Do.	Ditto.
20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
21	Mora-Mahananda.	Harishchandra-pur.	120 of 1934-35.	945	78.65	221 2 0	155 0 0	..	Act IX of 1847.	Revenue takes effect from 1st April 1935.
22	Ditto ..	Kharba ..	121 of 1933-34.	946	87.02	283 2 0	198 0 0	..	Do.	Revenue takes effect from 1st April 1936.
23	Ganges ..	Manikchak ..	43 to 45 of 1934-35.	854	27.61	76 14 0	71 4 0	Case Nos. 43 and 45 released on recommendation and Case No. 44 confirmed.	Do.	Ditto.

## Accretion to revenue-free estates.

## District Malda.

Serial No. of proceedings.	Name of river.	Thana.	Case No.	Tauzi No.	Area.	Assets.	Revenue.	Confirmed or released.	Proceeding under what law.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
						Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.			
1	Robokari Mahananda.	Malda Gajole	1 of 1934-35.	900	238.05	403 14 0	242 0 0	Confirmed	Regulation II of 1819.	Revenue takes effect from 1st April 1936.
2	Robokari Ganges	Manikchak	(Gap between Revenue Survey mauzas Harchandrapur and Chandpur)							Diara Officer's recommendation to drop, was accepted by the Director of Land Records and the Board.
3	Robokari Kalindri.	Ratua	2 of 1934-35.	899	4.68	4 7 0	4 4 0	Confirmed	Regulation II of 1819.	Revenue takes effect from 1st April 1935.

## List of resumption proceedings of alluvial accretions.

## District Dinajpur.

Serial No. of proceedings.	Name of river.	Thana.	Resumption Case No.	Tauzi No.	Area.	Assets.	Revenue.	Confirmed or released.	Proceeding under what law.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
						Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		
1	Mahananda	Itahar	1 to 8 of 1934-35.	*1242 to 1249	480.26	702 2 0	510 0 0	Confirmed	Under section 6 of Act IX of 1847.

\*Tauzi Nos. 1186 to 1193 were originally assigned in the Diara reports after consulting the Collector, but this fact was lost sight of in his office and these numbers were allotted to some other estates transferred to Dinajpur. The Collector had, therefore, to move the Board to allot the revised Nos. 1242 to 1249 shown in column 5.

## Analysis of Resumption Cases.

Name of river.	Total cases.	Malda district.				District Dinajpur.	
		Under Act IX of 1847.		Under Regulation II of 1819.		Under Act IX of 1847.	
		Confirmed.	Released.	Confirmed.	Released.	Confirmed.	Released.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Mahananda	74	58	7	1	..	8	..
Mara Mahananda	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
Kalindri	22	20	1	1	..	..	..
Pagla	12	4	8	..	..	..	..
Ganges	7	2	4	..	1	..	..
Total	117	86	20	2	1	8	..

## Chapter IV—Financial results and conclusion.

**129. Financial analysis.**—The inception proposal was prepared several years before the operations commenced. By 1928 when arrangements had been made to take up Malda, conditions had changed to some extent, and an entirely new factor—air survey methods—had been introduced. Air survey was the factor responsible for the greatest change in the inception proposals, but it is difficult to give a coherent account of its financial details, or to make an accurate estimate of the difference which would have resulted in the recovery rate, had the settlement been carried out by ordinary methods. Briefly, the Air Survey Company was given the contract at a flat rate per square mile of producing photographs to the required scale and within the required accuracy. After the initial failure, it became necessary to traverse A block by ordinary methods as it could not at that time be predicted with certainty whether air survey methods would eventually prove successful. The Company meanwhile traversed an area of about 100 square miles at its own cost; and later, when the revised system proved successful, it was adopted for B block. These factors produced a good deal of financial confusion. The money which had been spent on air survey work in A block was a loss, and it was eventually decided by Government to recover it from the landlords and tenants, but to spread the amount over the districts which were to be surveyed from the air—Malda, Rangpur and Dinajpur.

Even including Malda's share of this financial loss, the actual costs were lower than the estimated costs. This

was due principally to the fact that the cadastral and bujharat rates were fixed at a high figure in the inception proposals, where as the actual expenditure was rather less than half of the estimated rates. So far as cadastral is concerned, there were two factors that minimised the cost:—firstly, the cost of survey in B block was considerably decreased by the adoption of air survey methods; secondly, the incidence of plots per square mile turned out to be only 887, instead of 1,250 as had been estimated. The very much smaller incidence of plots meant that the cadastral stage of the operations including bujharat could be completed more quickly, with a consequent saving of costs.

The number of interests on the other hand proved to be 270 to the square mile instead of 250 as had been estimated. In spite of this the cost rate was very much lower than the estimated rate. This was due to inflation of the estimated rate, and to the simplicity of the record, which rendered rapid progress possible.

The factors which increased actual costs over the estimated rates were the cost of supervision and traverse. The excess over the estimate for supervision is due to the fact that the kanungos' pay had been increased since the inception proposals were framed; but it is difficult to say why the cost of traverse should have been so much above the estimate, unless it is because traverse, which was started late in the season, had to be rushed through and extra staff employed.

The following two tables show the inception rates and the actual costs; and the comparative figures for each branch of work:—

Details of work.	Inception proposal.	Actual.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
Area ..	1,562 square miles ..	1,604 square miles ..	The difference is due to the inclusion of Bhutni diara, and the diara block of Dinajpur district.
Plots ..	1,250 per square mile ..	887 per square mile ..	....
Interests ..	250 per square mile ..	270 per square mile ..	....
Cost rate ..	Rs. 1-6 per acre ..	Rs. 1-4 per acre ..	....
Total cost ..	Rs. 18,60,886 ..	Rs. 17,64,786 ..	....
Recoverable cost ..	Rs. 13,78,772 ..	Rs. 11,38,413 ..	Excluding loss from air survey in A block Rs. 1,71,300.

Branch of work.	Inception proposal.	Actual
1	2	3
	Rs.	Rs.
Air survey .. ..	..	100
Cadastral .. ..	166	80
Khanapuri .. ..	72	51
Initial recess .. ..	23	20
Bujharat .. ..	111	50
Attestation .. ..	79	47
Objection .. ..	12	8
Janch .. ..	26	13
Statistics .. ..	12	2
16" maps .. ..	7	9
Topo maps .. ..	3	
Final records .. ..	63	48
Computation and recovery .. ..	27	24
Case work .. ..	32	18
Diara and jamabandi .. ..	10	..
Supervision .. ..	260	310
Capital--		
Ordinary .. ..	50	..
Press .. ..	17	..
Current contingencies --		
Ordinary .. ..	23	55
Press .. ..	6	
Forms and stationery --		
Ordinary .. ..	15	20
Press .. ..	20	
Binding of records .. ..	13	3.5
Director of Land Records' control	17	..
Traverse survey .. ..	96.85	141.7
Reproduction of maps 16"	30.5	36.3

The recovery rate in A block worked out to slightly over Re. 1-3 per acre; but from the information available from B block at that time, it was evident that the recovery rate would be slightly higher in B block and it was therefore decided to adopt an all round rate of Re. 1-4 for both blocks. This rate was convenient, as it simplified calculations for recovery of the landlords' and tenants' shares. It was less than the estimated rate and may be regarded as very satisfactory, compared with the rates in other districts. Recovery results were also very satisfactory. The excess amount recovered was Rs. 62,804, and this is available towards the loss sustained in A block owing to the initial failure of air survey.

A summary of financial results is given in the table below:—

	Rs.
Total actual cost excluding receipts ..	17,64,786
Deduct—the amount on account of the loss resulting from Air Survey in A block .. ..	1,71,300
	15,93,486
Deduct—state share at $\frac{1}{4}$ .. ..	3,98,371
	11,95,115
Add—cost of boundary marks ..	9,223
	12,04,338
Deduct—Cost of Diara and Jamabandi work .. ..	23,100
Actual cost recoverable from parties ..	11,81,238
Total recovery already made ..	12,44,042
Excess recovery .. ..	62,804

**130. Summary of recommendations.**  
—A Synopsis is given below of the various recommendations which have been made in this report. The first section contains recommendations connected with the administration of the district: the second contains recommendations connected with the law, and with settlement proceedings:—

Recommendation.	Page.
1. The development of the silk industry by decentralisation; the introduction of re-reeling and twisting machinery in order to make Malda silk a commercial product; and the study of marketing facilities in order to enable it to compete with foreign products .. ..	22-3
2. The examination and organisation of the lac industry, and the study of marketing facilities .. ..	26-7
3. The possibility of improving agriculture and the introduction of extra crops, particularly in the Barind area ..	31-2
4. Restoration and archaeological excavation in the area of Pandua, as recommended by Mr. Stapleton ..	61
5. The retention of the Special Officer in the Barind. No separate recommendation is made regarding the question of vesting him with the powers of a munsif, as that would depend on present conditions among the Santal tenants ..	85
1. The amendment* of section 75 is proposed in order to allow the Collector or Settlement Officer to take cognisance of the levy of abwabs .. ..	79
2. It is proposed that there should be a legal bar to the credit of rent to arrears of any year, the rent of which is time-barred .. ..	81
3. Chapter VIIA, Bengal Tenancy Act, is defective inasmuch as a Collector's order for the grant of a usufructuary mortgage cannot be enforced if a mahajan insists on outright sale. In this respect occupancy right of aboriginals are not protected .. ..	83-4
4. Section 51 of the Survey Act is defective. If notices issued under section 9 are not complied with, there is no legal means of enforcing them by penal action as section 51 does not include section 9 ..	93

\*Since amended.

**131. Merits of officers.**—The concluding task of selecting for commendation the names of gazetted officers and kanungos is a little invidious, and one which is not without difficulty, because at the successful conclusion of a district operation there is a natural tendency to bestow praise rather freely on the members of what is certainly in some respects one of the hardest worked services under Government. I have endeavoured to curb this tendency, and to curtail the list by selecting those gazetted officers and kanungos whose work has been in some respect or other particularly meritorious; and the omission of any name reflects no discredit whatever on any officer or kanungo.

Mr. P. D. Martyn, I.C.S., was in charge of cadastral work in B block during the season 1930-31, and successfully held charge of the settlement during my absence on leave in 1931. I am greatly indebted to him for his valuable work. His unfailing energy and thoroughness, and the high standard of accuracy at which he aimed were in large measure responsible for the successful results of air survey methods.

Mr. A. Hughes, I.C.S., held the attestation charge of B block during the season 1931-32 until June, when he went on leave. By that time the attestation programme had been brought to a successful conclusion, largely under the Charge Officer's supervision, as I was at that time also engaged with cadastral work in the first block of Rangpur Settlement.

Mr. S. M. Murshed, Deputy Collector, held the attestation charge of A block. His work was characterised by keenness and energy; the standard of outturn under his supervision was consistently high; and the programme was successfully concluded within the field season.

Khan Sahib Nazir Hossain was in charge of a cadastral circle for the first year and acted throughout the rest of the operations as Headquarters Assistant Settlement Officer in which post he was always sound and dependable. He was also in charge of certificate work, and prepared the jamabandi reports of the first few estates which were taken up.

Babu Hemanga Lal Das Gupta was appointed as Diara Officer. He had a

difficult task to perform for the reasons mentioned, in the report, and great credit is due to him for carrying out his programme successfully. His thoroughness and wide knowledge of diara law were most valuable.

Among the gazetted officers who were in charge of cadastral or attestation circles, I consider that the work of the following was particularly meritorious :—

Babu Prafulla Chandra Mitra.

Babu Nihar Chandra Chakrabartty.

Babu Khitish Chandra Barman.

Babu Sachindra Mohan Guha.

Among the Case Work Officers I select Babu Satyendra Nath Das Gupta for commendation.

Coming to the Revenue Officers and kanungos, I draw attention to the specially good work of the following :— Babu Nalini Prosanna Gupta acted most successfully as Technical Adviser throughout the operations. He displayed great energy, and ability in organising the drawing and milan khasra sections. His technical knowledge was of great value in solving the initial problems of survey which arose in connection with air survey.

The work of the following Revenue Officers, both in attestation and final janch, was particularly good :—

Maulvi Kazi Samiruddin.

Babu Upendra Kishore Mazumdar.

Maulvi Kabbat Ali.

I should also like to draw attention to the good work done by the following Revenue Officers who successfully held charge of cadastral circles :—

Maulvi Gholam Mahaboob Chowdhury.

Maulvi Badaruddin Ahmed.

It is a matter of great regret that Maulvi Gholam Mahaboob Chowdhury, one of the most able of Revenue Officers, died after the operations were concluded.

The work of the following kanungos deserves special commendation. Though there were many other kanungos who

did really good work, I have confined the list to twelve:—

Maulvi Abdul Gani.

Babu Prafulla Kumar Gupta.

Babu Himangshu Kumar Adhikari.

Babu Ram Deb Gayen.

Babu Sudhir Chandra Bardhan.

Babu Hem Chandra Pathak.

Babu Chanchala Charan Guha Thakurta.

Babu Surendra Kumar Sur.

Babu Kulada Kinkar Ghosh.

Babu Santosh Kumar Chakrabartty.

Babu Kalipada Roy Chowdhury.

Babu Rebat Mohan Guha Thakurta.

Next I wish to thank the officers who have assisted with the drafting of this report. The greater portion of it was written at Rangpur in 1934; but before it could be completed during the recess of that year I was transferred as Secretary to the Board of Revenue;

and thereafter as Collector at Midnapore and Alipore it was impossible to find time to complete it. The Director of Land Records therefore directed that the diara section should be drafted by Babu Hemanga Lal Das Gupta, and the remaining sections by Khan Sahib Nazir Hossain. I am indebted to the former for a thorough and able draft, which has only required some revision. I am also obliged to Khan Sahib Nazir Hossain for his work on the other sections, though his notes were not in the required form, and had to be entirely redrafted. His figures too were unchecked and generally inaccurate, and it has cost enormous time and labour to set them right.

Finally I should like to express my indebtedness to Mr. H. E. Stapleton, formerly Director of Public Instruction, whose wide historical and archaeological knowledge were of the greatest assistance in preparing the section of the report on Gaur and Pandua.



**APPENDIX I.**  
**Statistics of Tenancies and Rents—Malda Settlement.**

Serial No.	Names of thanas.	In the direct occupation of—																		Tenure-holders on rent in kind or commuted cash in kind.		Other classes.	
		Proprietors.				Rent-free tenure-holders.		Service tenure-holders.		Permanent tenure-holders at fixed rates or rents.		Permanent tenure-holders not at fixed rates or rents.		Temporary tenure-holders.									
		As private lands.		Not as private lands.																			
		Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20				
<b>A Block.</b>																							
1	Kharba	..	..	405	7,186.98	863	1,099.53	..	..	86	443.92	109	599.08	73	75.28	3	2.33	108	87.93				
2	Harishchandrapur	..	..	517	6,835.71	729	403.95	..	..	534	3,020.72	106	860.98	38	13.71	..	..	98	225.39				
3	Habibpur	..	..	829	19,919.25	282	193.24	..	..	803	5,063.41	220	1,298.98	14	152.91	..	..	97	340.67				
4	Malda	..	..	206	8,914.34	276	238.35	..	..	58	205.00	130	2,134.51	7	87.25	..	..	46	151.57				
5	Gajole	..	..	437	15,786.07	346	343.59	..	..	113	904.54	383	3,377.38	28	53.10	..	..	79	483.90				
6	Bamangola	..	..	199	4,301.12	565	560.26	..	..	438	1,382.83	10	183.15	..	..	..	..	4	6.59				
	Total of A Block	..	..	2,593	62,943.47	3,001	2,838.92	..	..	2,032	11,020.42	958	8,459.08	160	382.25	3	2.33	432	1,296.05				
<b>B Block.</b>																							
1	English Bazar	..	..	684	2,308.67	747	332.86	..	..	501	2,151.34	230	369.26	71	52.03	..	..	93	88.29				
2	Kalichak	..	..	355	697.07	277	86.60	..	..	293	541.36	89	371.82	96	34.26	..	..	125	150.01				
3	Bholahat	..	..	101	1,068.39	538	295.79	..	..	180	5,959.04	75	179.90	..	..	..	..	53	104.74				
4	Gomastapur	..	..	380	9,162.87	360	182.60	..	..	702	3,396.27	166	1,100.46	7	38.45	1	..	35	104.24				
5	Nachole	..	..	301	4,403.87	252	254.24	..	..	729	6,260.46	49	268.48	7	81.54	..	..	17	93.79				
6	Sibganj	..	..	283	1,466.26	346	246.86	..	..	714	2,008.60	365	1,563.30	4	2.37	..	..	210	443.69				
7	Ratua	..	..	233	5,032.13	147	78.44	..	..	203	1,056.85	378	1,343.82	3	4.01	..	..	92	144.55				
8	Manikchak	..	..	39	2,675.76	14	5.68	..	..	31	1,906.02	12	89.75	..	..	..	..	3	1.35				
9	Nawabganj	..	..	291	1,683.55	177	87.39	..	..	720	1,040.77	80	320.94	50	153.31	1	3.56	88	203.53				
	Total of B Block	..	..	2,667	28,498.57	2,878	1,570.46	..	..	4,073	21,260.71	1,444	5,557.73	238	366.17	2	9.53	716	1,334.19				
	Total of District Settlement	..	..	5,260	91,442.04	5,879	4,409.38	..	..	6,105	35,281.14	2,402	14,016.81	398	748.42	5	5.86	1,148	2,630.24				
	Total of Rajshahi District Settlement	..	..	285	15,865.96	728	809.87	4	1.87	589	23,488.47	561	7,974.71	23	1,168.41	..	..	84	215.33				
	Total of thana Itahar, district Dinajpur	..	..	42	860.67	213	199.35	..	..	22	96.52	18	33.28	5	82	..	..	..	..				

## APPENDIX

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Serial No.	Names of thanas.	Ryots (rent-free).		Ryots (service).		Ryots at fixed rent or rate of rent (cash).				Settled and occupancy ryots (cash rent).				Non-occupancy ryots (cash rent).				Settled and occupancy ryots on fixed produce rent.	
		Number of hold-ings.	Area.	Number of hold-ings.	Area.	Number of hold-ings.	Rent.	Rs. a. p.	Incidence of rent.	Number of hold-ings.	Area.	Rent.	Rs. a. p.	Number of hold-ings.	Area.	Rent.	Incidence of rent.	Number of hold-ings.	Area.
1	2	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38
<b>A Block.</b>																			
1	Kharba ..	434	525-10	731	1,650-35	500	1,274-62	2,638 3 7	2 1 1	38,713	74,360-82	2,03,195 7 7	2 11 9	80	122-21	287 12 4	2 6 0	208	257-31
2	Harishchandrapur ..	323	665-38	744	1,756-94	860	3,536-98	10,064 1 11	2 13 6	31,190	72,368-52	2,23,541 4 2	3 1 5	444	994-17	3,489 11 4	3 8 2	117	170-67
3	Habibpur ..	313	476-75	39	63-18	880	3,603-80	5,308 2 3	1 7 6	18,320	62,543-44	1,22,419 3 8	1 15 3	1,302	2,963-34	6,968 13 7	2 5 8	11	14-08
4	Madda ..	289	292-86	15	16-27	1,025	2,083-33	1,640 2 2	0 12 7	17,166	37,417-00	67,908 5 9	1 12 7	597	2,337-32	3,968 1 7	1 11 5	2	5-27
5	Gajole ..	356	539-53	160	262-91	1,985	8,499-13	10,043 10 11	1 2 11	28,569	86,108-05	1,31,598 4 7	1 8 5	2,122	8,727-73	15,722 1 7	1 12 9	117	160-19
6	Banangola ..	214	379-35	78	104-26	1,130	4,323-35	8,789 9 2	2 0 6	12,907	31,330-15	65,570 8 1	2 1 6	423	303-93	642 15 2	2 1 10	26	59-78
	Total of A Block	1,929	2,878-97	1,767	3,853-91	6,359	23,320-40	38,483 14 0	1 10 5	146,915	364,125-98	3,14,233 1 10	2 3 9	4,963	15,448-70	91,109 7 7	2 0 3	481	667-30
<b>B Block.</b>																			
1	English Bazar ..	363	422-27	42	35-73	2,456	4,470-90	7,295 0 4	2 0-4	34,960	48,219-03	96,828 0 11	1 14 11	88	329-89	1,214 14 6	3 9 2	3	3-49
2	Kaliachak ..	390	171-70	21	23-20	2,647	4,206-43	8,391 14 3	1 15 8	25,424	36,165-69	73,991 11 9	2 0 8	7	8-54	10 14 4	1 2 9	..	..
3	Bholahat ..	56	51-88	19	13-50	1,585	2,392-04	5,069 3 7	2 2 10	13,375	18,945-75	41,382 1 7	2 3 0	183	211-24	396 12 8	1 14 0	25	39-78
4	Gomastapur ..	211	366-16	59	97-63	441	1,695-60	1,897 15 0	1 1 10	21,165	58,932-75	1,17,628 0 7	1 15 11	344	830-54	2,085 10 0	2 8 0	76	175-20
5	Nachole ..	160	232-75	62	130-54	167	910-98	1,709 2 3	1 14 0	15,807	56,266-75	1,41,970 3 0	2 8 4	481	402-26	1,144 11 1	2 13 6	47	158-76
6	Sibganj ..	45	50-73	4	2-20	1,033	3,270-81	4,602 6 10	1 5 11	27,734	56,584-47	1,06,620 15 8	1 13 2	36	34-16	85 6 5	2 7 9	1	1-34
7	Ratua ..	262	283-65	62	140-60	696	1,715-78	2,288 8 9	1 5 4	25,314	62,177-52	1,25,670 5 9	2 1 3	89	283-85	541 2 8	1 14 5	131	284-35
8	Manikchak ..	43	55-39	2	55	129	336-33	353 0 0	1 0 9	6,041	14,470-17	46,568 6 9	3 3 6	2,768	6,424-10	24,978 4 10	3 14 2	1	1-70
9	Nawabganj ..	54	76-98	34	37-48	342	1,383-34	2,064 14 4	1 7 9	12,541	28,410-42	62,112 9 9	2 2 11	63	52-42	118 7 0	2 4 0	9	18-34
	Total of B Block	1,584	1,711-51	305	487-43	9,506	20,382-21	33,662 1 4	1 10 5	182,361	380,172-55	8,12,772 7 9	2 2 2	4,059	8,577-02	30,576 4 3	3 9 0	293	652-96
	Total of District Settlement	3,513	4,590-48	2,072	4,341-34	15,865	43,702-61	72,150 15 4	1 10 5	329,276	744,298-53	16,27,005 9 7	2 2 11	9,027	24,023-72	61,685 11 10	2 9 1	774	1,320-26
	Total of Rajshahi District Settlement.	3	3-47	247	241-87	4,768	14,596-28	23,473 4 11	1 9 9	70,075	168,460-07	4,27,345 6 7	2 8 7	6,263	14,106-66	32,828 8 2	2 5 3	128	118-27
	Total of thana Kharib Dinajpur	63	107-77	71	149-26	398	970-47	1,138 13 7	1 2 8	4,044	7,489-51	10,757 11 0	1 4 9	19	29-98	98 1 8	3 4 3	1	1-23

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

Serial No.	Names of thanas.	Settled and occupancy ryots on share of produce rents.		Non-occupancy ryots on fixed produce rent.		Non-occupancy ryots on share of produce rent.		Settled and occupancy ryots on combined cash and produce rent.		Non-occupancy ryots on combined cash and produce rent.		Other classes.		Occupants (e.g., of non-agricultural holdings).			Under-ryots.		
		Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Rent.	Number of holdings.	Area.	Rent.
1	2	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56
<b>A Block.</b>																			
1	Kharba ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	18-63	720	205-93	1,157 11 5	..	..	..
2	Harishchandrapur ..	1	52	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	21-32	1,031	470-01	2,659 5 4	..	..	..
3	Habibpur ..	1	1-90	3	2-63	31	75-35	32	62-97	8	15-12	7	23-04	375	164-86	441 6 3	..	..	..
4	Malda ..	1	1-36	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	843	94-38	2,180 6 9	..	..	..
5	Gajole ..	1	2-53	..	..	..	..	1	2-03	..	..	36	32-80	1,094	614-32	742 10 7	..	..	..
6	Bamangola ..	..	..	2	98	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	26	270	160-66	290 6 0	..	..	..
Total of A Block ..		4	6-31	5	3-61	31	75-35	33	65-00	8	15-12	60	96-05	4,333	1,710-16	7,471 14 4	..	..	..
<b>B Block.</b>																			
1	English Bazar ..	1	2-56	..	..	1	2-19	..	..	..	..	56	54-35	3,350	296-63	2,459 4 11	1,978	884-98	4,516 9 9
2	Kaliachak ..	..	..	..	..	7	8-66	..	..	..	..	4	33	623	109-13	583 13 7	1,061	313-52	1,478 3 6
3	Rholahat ..	4	5-95	..	..	..	..	3	4-01	..	..	4	25-94	317	24-21	570 4 3	360	124-39	619 13 6
4	Gomastapur ..	13	26-06	..	..	..	..	10	23-01	..	..	..	..	461	133-97	1,612 12 5	419	145-42	997 11 3
5	Nachole ..	2	7-26	1	26-78	..	..	1	7-8	..	..	5	4-14	226	33-77	403 5 9	11	8-81	28 6 6
6	Sibganj ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	123-11	424	109-87	846 1 0	456	237-94	1,011 13 0
7	Ratna ..	2	4-49	..	..	..	..	1	2-41	..	..	..	..	451	62-30	1,515 7 8	977	325-26	1,930 11 8
8	Mankachak ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	278	32-34	217 11 10	142	50-05	261 4 1
9	Nawabganj ..	..	..	1	2-27	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	101	35-93	567 2 1	158	40-00	461 10 7
Total of B Block ..		22	46-32	2	29-05	8	10-85	15	30-21	..	..	76	207-87	6,231	838-15	8,775 15 6	5,562	2,120-37	11,306 3 10
Total of District Settlement ..		26	52-63	7	32-66	39	86-20	48	95-21	8	15-12	136	303-92	10,564	2,518-32	16,247 13 10	5,562	2,130-37	11,906 3 10
Total of Rajshahi Diara Settlement ..		2,008	2,858-30	..	..	143	102-05	188	164-95	..	..	32	170-63	3,003	378-28	5,034 1 6	1,945	426-16	3,807 10 7
Total of thana Itahar, district Dhanpur ..		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	116	43-40	193 4 3	62	23-43	143 12 3



**APPENDIX II.**

## APPENDIX

Malda

Milan

Serial No.	Names of thanas.	Area sown.									
		Bhadol.		Aghani.		Rabi.		Others, e.g., mango, plantain, guavas, etc.		Total.	
		2		3		4		5		6	
1	1A	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.
1	Kharba .. ..	22,400	41	44,032	17	24,251	62	2,256	88	92,941	08
2	Harishchandrapur ..	23,450	66	45,538	93	33,560	47	1,909	91	104,450	97
3	Malda .. ..	12,339	70	14,870	14	10,276	33	2,442	60	39,928	77
4	Gajole .. ..	10,741	22	67,449	71	19,588	04	1,015	60	98,794	57
5	Bamangola .. ..	5,052	50	28,009	63	2,050	44	208	20	35,329	77
6	Habibpur .. ..	11,332	17	39,943	94	14,505	83	628	43	66,500	37
7	Gomasapur .. ..	13,236	08	31,363	17	12,171	07	1,774	40	58,544	72
8	Kaliachak .. ..	10,283	38	523	27	20,943	98	10,551	58	42,302	21
9	Manikchak .. ..	12,090	60	49	45	16,541	56	902	53	29,584	14
10	Bholahat .. ..	5,881	03	8,712	73	3,037	87	2,751	27	21,282	90
11	Ratua .. ..	30,558	11	10,803	18	36,782	99	4,529	62	82,673	90
12	Nawabganj .. ..	4,521	24	17,703	74	7,968	60	723	88	30,917	55
13	Sibganj .. ..	19,672	56	12,050	91	35,481	51	4,731	03	71,036	01
14	English Bazar .. ..	15,508	87	3,357	27	21,733	21	15,971	10	50,570	45
15	Nachole .. ..	2,713	59	45,837	20	4,588	78	315	01	53,454	58
	Total of District Settlement	199,782	12	370,245	44	264,481	39	50,712	04	885,220	99
	Total of Rajshahi Diara Settlement	92,581	21	2,802	22	111,893	62	9,698	77	216,975	82

Serial No.	Names of thanas.	Culturable area other than current fallow.						Area not available for cultivation.			
		Culturable jungle.		Other kinds.		Total.		House sites.		Water.	
		12		13		14		15		16	
1	1A	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.
1	Kharba .. ..	702	58	2,783	94	9,092	81	2,031	31	4,834	71
2	Harishchandrapur ..	352	53	2,008	34	9,662	63	1,846	45	6,491	71
3	Malda .. ..	3,354	12	1,989	07	9,152	53	612	78	5,586	92
4	Gajole .. ..	2,490	18	7,372	12	15,976	69	1,522	73	10,029	59
5	Bamangola .. ..	82	56	1,803	30	3,823	49	728	51	2,222	86
6	Habibpur .. ..	3,902	33	4,801	97	20,741	77	1,092	14	6,537	75
7	Gomasapur .. ..	470	09	2,485	00	13,141	10	1,305	64	6,508	41
8	Kaliachak .. ..	9	48	1,068	79	3,848	00	1,503	21	1,380	14
9	Manikchak .. ..	7	90	273	37	4,317	59	373	23	11,314	73
10	Bholahat .. ..	40	75	1,015	20	2,698	62	626	68	6,091	52
11	Ratua .. ..	248	10	2,812	50	9,661	12	1,573	75	1,643	75
12	Nawabganj .. ..	276	86	1,072	40	3,883	64	576	60	3,113	87
13	Sibganj .. ..	478	44	1,932	44	8,527	40	2,047	57	3,725	89
14	English Bazar .. ..	479	81	2,609	64	7,539	09	1,401	40	5,570	88
15	Nachole .. ..	257	40	3,342	11	8,182	68	880	57	4,364	00
	Total of District Settlement	13,153	13	38,961	09	130,249	16	18,212	57	79,416	73
	Total of Rajshahi Diara Settlement			4,044	58	27,900	86	6,697	92	9,711	02



II.

## Settlement.

khasra.

Area sown.								Culturable area other than current fallow.	
Dofasli.		Net.		Current fallow.		Old fallow.		Groves not fruit bearing and bamboos.	
7		8		9		10		11	
A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.
22,657	76	70,283	32	1,909	15	3,312	88	2,293	41
31,698	11	72,761	86	1,752	53	5,023	84	1,377	92
4,254	51	35,674	26	2,292	78	3,147	48	661	86
8,638	05	90,156	52	5,480	90	4,408	41	1,615	98
425	75	34,904	02	339	98	1,332	68	604	95
4,490	91	62,009	46	3,815	41	11,349	39	688	08
6,627	63	51,917	09	3,428	03	9,279	78	905	33
8,072	09	34,230	12	1,428	56	1,596	80	1,172	93
11,289	53	18,294	61	866	58	3,842	71	193	61
2,034	89	19,248	01	665	80	1,230	70	411	97
27,326	06	55,347	84	1,993	07	5,511	18	1,089	34
4,751	22	26,160	33	870	12	1,513	27	421	11
21,407	38	50,528	63	2,497	24	4,402	57	1,713	95
12,806	68	43,763	77	1,490	84	2,862	25	1,497	38
1,469	08	51,985	50	2,470	34	4,182	58	400	50
167,949	65	717,271	34	31,301	33	63,086	52	15,048	42
68,198	73	148,777	09	4,815	05	14,224	22	3,914	33

Area not available for cultivation.				Total uncultivated, columns 9, 14 and 18.		Total area, columns 8 and 19.		Thatching grass.	
Other kinds.		Total.							
17		18		19		20		20A.	
A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.
2,861	20	9,727	22	20,729	18	91,012	50	..	..
3,380	78	11,718	04	23,134	10	95,895	96	..	..
2,619	27	8,818	97	20,204	28	65,938	54	..	..
3,764	01	15,316	33	36,773	92	126,930	44	..	..
1,390	37	4,341	74	8,505	21	43,409	23	..	..
3,887	80	11,517	69	36,074	87	98,084	33	..	..
2,237	02	10,951	07	26,620	20	78,537	29	..	..
1,537	97	4,511	32	9,787	88	44,018	00	..	..
579	38	12,267	34	17,451	51	35,746	12	..	..
1,183	04	7,901	24	11,265	66	30,513	67	..	..
6,999	66	10,217	16	21,871	35	77,219	19	..	..
1,105	45	4,855	92	9,609	68	35,776	01	..	..
1,090	56	6,864	02	17,888	66	68,417	29	..	..
3,208	80	10,181	08	19,211	01	62,974	78	..	..
2,318	35	7,562	92	18,215	94	70,201	44	..	..
38,223	66	135,852	96	297,403	45	10,14,674	79	..	..
58,392	94	74,801	88	106,817	79	855,594	88	5,017	53



## APPENDIX III—contd.

Serial No.	Names of thanas.	Oil-seed.					Condiments and spices.			Sugar.			Fibres.					Syamakoda.						
		Rape and mustard.		Groundnut.	Cocunut.	Castor.	Others.		Sugarcane.	Others.	Cotton.		Hemp (sum).	Jute.	Others.									
		14	14(a)	14(b)	14(c)	15	16	17			18	19	20	21	22	22A								
1	Kharla ..	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.					
1	Kharla ..	7,604	60	22	50	320	15	1	16	98	16	1	84	..	..	105	6,649	46	..					
2	Harischandrapur ..	5,453	49	114	94	333	61	90	66	160	66	90	18	15	72	158	7,718	11	..					
3	Malda ..	3,232	99	9	45	22	14	..	94	213	94	..	..	..	..	1	71	67	11					
4	Gajole ..	7,420	95	9	44	184	80	..	07	322	07	04	10	47	..	..	163	48	..					
5	Bamangola ..	661	14	..	..	..	..	..	13	7	13	..	..	..	..	..	325	68	..					
6	Habibpur ..	5,517	45	..	87	151	23	..	03	339	03	74	..	..	..	..	59	25	23					
7	Gomastapur ..	4,550	94	..	52	16	89	30	47	24	47	30	48	..	..	..	145	79	..					
8	Kelachak ..	1,328	94	1	62	9	60	45	71	226	71	45	33	..	..	2	114	71	16					
9	Manikchak ..	3,215	79	1	33	131	42	..	51	109	51	42	87	..	..	..	188	66	..					
10	Bholaht ..	1,775	79	..	32	8	64	2	31	18	31	2	48	..	..	..	9	92	..					
11	Ratus ..	8,543	90	19	33	237	18	14	42	62	42	14	28	..	..	..	3,243	63	..					
12	Kawabganj ..	1,875	44	..	05	71	88	..	52	7	52	..	..	..	..	..	319	75	1					
13	Sibganj ..	7,368	72	2	28	383	18	915	55	161	55	915	90	..	..	1	216	54	62					
14	English Bazar ..	3,505	51	14	51	55	62	32	95	66	95	32	30	..	..	2	141	53	17					
15	Nachole ..	1,649	19	..	..	7	97	3	91	14	91	3	89	..	..	..	115	27	29					
Total of District Settlement.		63,704	84	197	16	1,933	11	1,594	34	1,863	34	1,594	33	26	19	72	273	19,782	85	138	55	138	55	40
Total of Rajshahi Diara Settlement ..		21,494	99	..	..	615	29	152	89	972	89	152	30	3	87	..	..	10,786	87	61	16	16	16	..



APPENDIX III—*concd.*

Serial No.	Names of thanas.	Fruits and vegetable (including root crops).						Miscellaneous crops.				Total.		Area sown more than once.		Net area sown.	
		Fruits.		Potato.		Others.		Food.		Non-food.		A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.
		32		33		34		35		36							
1	1(a)	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.
1	Kharba	2,165	44	205	84	89	45	..	39	..	..	92,941	08	22,657	76	70,283	32
2	Hariachandrapur	1,661	61	202	91	186	77	2	28	..	28	104,159	97	31,698	11	72,761	86
3	Malda	2,047	12	109	87	245	17	6	22	85	31	39,928	77	4,254	51	35,674	26
4	Gajole	730	46	220	32	284	09	..	07	..	..	98,794	57	8,638	05	90,156	52
5	Bamangola	153	32	..	29	20	22	..	..	..	..	35,329	77	425	75	34,904	02
6	Habibpur	286	36	22	04	161	42	1	27	156	75	66,500	37	4,490	91	62,009	46
7	Gomastapur	1,444	41	21	59	272	37	9	32	57	62	58,544	72	6,627	63	51,917	09
8	Kaliachak	3,036	78	109	57	744	94	9	37	6,769	83	42,302	21	8,072	09	34,230	12
9	Manikchak	679	21	26	08	182	42	4	97	40	90	29,584	14	11,289	53	18,294	61
10	Bholahat	1,269	12	..	96	127	19	88	49	1,346	33	21,282	90	2,034	89	19,248	01
11	Ratua	4,083	70	205	95	347	80	75	40	90	67	82,673	90	27,326	06	55,347	84
12	Nawabganj	634	19	21	06	73	45	1	35	..	..	30,917	55	4,751	22	26,166	33
13	Sitganj	3,930	38	7	78	575	32	4	32	218	32	71,936	02	21,407	38	50,528	63
14	English Bazar	13,272	72	87	59	513	43	79	46	2,184	95	56,570	44	12,806	68	43,763	76
15	Nachole	275	95	1	36	25	09	..	..	13	37	53,454	58	1,469	03	51,985	50
Total of District Settlement		35,671	17	1,243	12	3,419	14	283	31	10,964	93	885,220	99	167,949	65	717,271	34
Total of Rajshahi Diara Settlement		..	..	2,097	36	6,712	54	186	09	3,163	61	216,975	52	68,198	73	148,777	09

## APPENDIX IV.

## Malda Settlement.

## Agricultural Stock Statement.

Serial No.	Names of thanas.	1(a)	Bulls.	Bulls reared or bred in Government farm with name of farm.	Bullocks.	Cows.	Calves.	Male buffaloes.	Female buffaloes.	Buffalo calves.	Sheep.	Goats.	Horses.	Mares.	Young Stock (colts and fillies).	Mules.
1			2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12(a)	12(b)	12(c)	13
1	Kharba	..	1,053	4	20,322	12,400	11,245	1,760	516	377	1,962	6,420	943	134	51	8
2	Harishchandrapur	..	475	16	20,911	10,329	9,561	2,240	814	511	928	7,340	743	266	60	..
3	Malda	..	329	..	8,064	7,320	6,177	1,556	937	260	1,471	6,126	216	74	5	..
4	Gajole	..	1,378	7	19,204	14,876	10,964	6,129	2,116	701	2,977	13,450	481	183	46	3
5	Bamangola	..	116	2	3,105	2,485	2,502	965	156	41	272	2,540	22	14	5	..
6	Habibpur	..	396	5	8,155	9,167	6,993	3,310	1,169	356	1,758	7,225	245	74	22	..
7	Gomastapur	..	865	14	1,262	12,151	11,033	2,690	408	208	1,386	8,134	142	36	11	..
8	Kalachak	..	240	3	10,995	7,633	9,449	339	13	43	1,116	15,921	316	49	15	..
9	Manikchak	..	49	5	4,653	4,202	3,258	76	182	131	464	2,514	84	65	16	..
10	Bholahat	..	225	1	4,990	4,307	5,340	86	10	15	400	2,828	4	88	2	..
11	Ratna	..	598	4	13,846	10,823	9,780	1,477	330	143	941	1,076	782	196	67	3
12	Nawabganj	..	320	14	4,804	4,547	3,639	565	170	70	480	2,668	11	10	1	..
13	Sibganj	..	432	..	15,142	10,813	9,590	212	43	102	2,208	13,912	81	41	81	13
14	English Bazar	..	399	15	12,215	13,544	10,974	586	127	138	1,633	9,613	452	140	25	2
15	Nachole	..	720	7	9,738	9,110	7,517	4,014	636	411	1,107	6,701	49	21	5	1
Total of District Settlement			7,585	97	157,406	133,707	118,231	26,317	7,647	3,512	15,153	106,968	4,561	1,391	412	30
Total of Rajshahi Diara Settlement			4,389	..	44,900	36,575	31,128	1,725	382	242	4,530	29,775	1,477	..	..	..



APPENDIX IV—*concd.*

Serial No.	Name of Thana. 1(a)	Donkeys.	Elephants.	Camels.	Pigs.	Ploughs.	Carts.	Boat.	Palanquins.	Wells.	Oil mill (Camelry).	Bale out.	Hackney carriage.	Monkey.	Deer.
1		14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
1	Kharba ..	..	6	..	84	9,254	1,525	142	1	31	6	..	3	..	..
2	Harishchandrapur ..	2	6	..	174	8,683	1,677	672	12	31	9	..	..	..	..
3	Malda ..	1	..	1	726	4,777	1,106	71	1	..	..	..	..	2	1
4	Gajole ..	..	..	..	1,708	12,136	2,880	104	..	..	..	65	..	..	..
5	Bamangola ..	..	..	..	166	2,049	542	19	..	..	..	63	..	..	..
6	Habibpur ..	..	3	..	1,576	5,589	1,244	86	..	..	..	121	..	..	..
7	Gomastapur ..	2	1	..	974	6,267	1,396	189	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
8	Kaliachak ..	..	..	..	9	4,429	2,150	250	3	..	..	3	..	..	..
9	Manikchak ..	..	..	..	17	2,124	593	96	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
10	Bholahat ..	..	..	..	21	2,200	1,165	140	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
11	Ratua ..	2	..	..	96	6,913	2,827	277	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
12	Nawalgaui ..	..	..	..	137	2,510	1,243	20	20	..	..	..	..	..	..
13	Silganj ..	..	..	..	..	5,102	3,416	195	21	..	6	..	..	..	..
14	English Bazar ..	..	7	..	61	4,109	2,418	335	30	..	190	..	..	..	..
15	Nachole ..	4	..	..	585	6,175	1,874	50	5	..	2	..	..	..	..
Total of District Settlement ..		11	23	1	6,427	82,317	26,056	2,637	119	62	213	252	3	2	1
Total of Rajshahi Diara Settlement ..		..	3	..	336	20,857	8,730	778	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

## APPENDIX V.

## List of gazetted officers who worked in Malda Settlement.

Serial number and name.	Record of employment.		Branch of work in which employed.
	From—	To—	
1	2		3.
<i>Settlement officers.</i>			
1. Mr. M. O. Carter, M.C., I.C.S. ..	4-9-28	2-4-31	} Settlement Officer.
	2-11-31	29-2-34	
2. Mr. P. D. Martyn, I.C.S. ..	3-4-31	1-11-31	Ditto.
3. Mr. A. Hughes, I.C.S. ..	10-11-31	9-6-32	Ditto.
<i>Deputy Collectors.</i>			
4. Maulvi Saiyid Manzur Murshed ..	15-9-28	16-7-30	} Charge Officer.
	16-1-31	13-8-31	
5. Babu Sudhir Kumar Sen ..	19-10-29	5-7-30	} Cadastral Circle Officer.
	9-10-30	28-2-31	
6. Rai Sahib Hira Lal Sen ..	12-10-30	17-1-31	Charge Officer.
<i>Munsif.</i>			
7. Maulvi Md. Serajul Islam ..	19-2-29	19-7-30	} Cadastral Circle Officer.
	9-10-30	18-2-31	
<i>Sub-Deputy Collectors.</i>			
8. Babu Nihar Ch. Chakraborty ..	19-10-29	5-4-30	} Ditto.
	20-10-30	16-3-31	
9. Maulvi Nazir Hosain ..	19-10-29	15-7-30	} Cadastral Circle Officer, Head-quarters Assistant Settlement Officer, Case Work Officer. Power under section 115B, Bengal Tenancy Act, Assistant Settlement Officer in charge from 1st March 1934 to 30th October 1934. Powers of Settlement Officer under the Bengal Tenancy Act. Power of Collector under Bengal Land Revenue Settlement Regulations and under Act IX of 1897.
	9-10-30	3-10-34	
10. Babu Mohendra Nath Choudhuri ..	19-10-29	17-6-30	} Cadastral Circle Officer.
	9-10-30	28-2-31	
	3-2-32	5-6-32	
11. Babu Sachindra Mohan Guha ..	19-10-29	8-7-30	} Ditto.
	9-10-30	15-6-31	
	27-10-31	16-7-32	
12. Babu Manmatha Nath Roy ..	19-10-29	26-3-30	Ditto.

Serial number and name.	Record of employment.		Branch of work in which employed.
	From---	To	
1	2		3
13. Babu Prafulla Ch. Mitra ..	19-10-29 9-10-30 15-3-35	1-7-30 1-9-32 30-9-35	} Cadastral Circle Officer and Case Work Officer. Attestation and Objection Officer. Ditto.
14. Babu Kshitish Ch. Barman ..	9-10-30	15-6-31	
15. Babu Pravat Chandra Chatterjee ..	9-10-30	27-3-31	
16. Babu Prafulla Kumar Mukherjee ..	9-10-30	18-1-31	Ditto. Case work Officer. Power under section 115B, Bengal Tenancy Act, Diara and Jamabandi Officer, Assistant Settlement Officer in charge from 1st November 1934 to 23rd March 1936. Powers of Settlement Officer under the Bengal Tenancy Act and power of Collector under the Bengal Land Revenue Settlement Regulations and under Act IX of 1847. Wound up the operation.
17. Babu Hemanga Lal Das Gupta ..	1-8-32	23-3-36	
18. Maulvi Saleuddin Ahmad ..	9-10-30	15-6-31	Cadastral Circle Officer.
19. Babu Satyendra Nath Das Gupta ..	5-10-33	14-8-36	Case Work Officer.
20. Babu Purnendu Nath Guha ..	2-1-34	4-3-35	Ditto.
21. Babu Ratindra Chandra Basu ..	14-4-34	29-10-34	Ditto.

**Kanungos.***1927-28.*

1. Babu Santosh Kumar Chatterjee.

*1928-29.*

1. Babu Nalini Prasanna Gupta, Technical Adviser.
2. Babu Kedar Nath Maity.
3. Babu Ram Deb Gyan.
4. Babu Prafulla Kumar Gupta.
5. Maulvi Abdul Gani.

*1929-30.*

1. Babu Nalini Prasanna Gupta, Technical Adviser.
2. Babu Ram Deb Gyan.
3. Maulvi Abdul Gani.
4. Babu Prafulla Kumar Gupta.
5. Babu Bāsanta Kumar Sen.
6. Babu Chanchala Charan Guha Thakurta.
7. Babu Hira Lal Banerjee.

8. Babu Kishori Mohan Chatterjee.
9. Babu Jadunath Ganguly.
10. Babu Jogendra Nath Sen.
11. Maulvi Abu Nazam Saiduddin.
12. Maulvi A. F. Basirul Huq Chowdhury.
13. Maulvi Muhammad Sadat Ali.
14. Maulvi Maniruddin Khan.
15. Maulvi Afzalal Haque.
16. Babu Mahendra Narain Sarkar.
17. Maulvi Muhammad Ismail.
18. Babu Suresh Chandra Bhattacharjee.
19. Maulvi Samsul Hosain.
20. Maulvi Abdul Aziz Akhan.
21. Babu Pravas Chandra Chatterjee
22. Babu Narendra Nath Sen Gupta.
23. Babu Narendra Nath Singha.
24. Babu Suresh Chandra Das Gupta.
25. Maulvi Kazem Ali.
26. Babu Kalipada Rai Choudhury.
27. Babu Jojneswar Majumdar.
28. Babu Nalini Mohan Chakraborty.
29. Babu Manindra Mohan Das.
30. Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee.
31. Babu Kamala Kanta Batabyal.
32. Babu Hem Chandra Pathak.
33. Baby Santosh Kumar Chakraborty.

34. Babu Birendra Nath Guha.
35. Babu Hira Lal Banerjee.
36. Babu Santosh Kumar Mukharjee.
37. Babu Mani Mohan Mukharjee.
38. Babu Surendra Kumar Sur.
39. Babu Hriday Bhusan Mukherjee.
40. Babu Sudhir Chandra Bardhan.
41. Maulvi Rahmat Ullah.
42. Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta.
43. Babu Mohini Mohan Datta.
44. Babu Himansu Kumar Adhikary.
45. Babu Debendra Nath Ganguly.
46. Babu Saraju Lal Basu.
47. Babu Souribilas Mukherjee.
48. Maulvi Anisur Rahman.
49. Babu Jatindra Mohan Majumdar.
50. Babu Bisnupada Chatterjee.
51. Babu Jogendra Nath Mallik.
52. Babu Kulada Kinkar Ghosh.
53. Babu Revati Mohan Guha Thakurta.
54. Babu Pramatha Nath Adhikary.
55. Maulvi Muhammad Ruhul Amin.
56. Maulvi Samsuddin Ahmed.
57. Maulvi Asraf Ali.
58. Babu Hrishikesh Majumdar.
59. Maulvi Golam Mahboob Choudhuri.
60. Babu Surendra Nath Basu.
61. Babu Umesh Chandra Chakraborty.
62. Maulvi Sadudur Rahman.
42. Babu Surendra Kumar Sur.
43. Babu Pramatha Nath Adhikary.
44. Babu Hriday Bhusan Mukherjee.
45. Babu Kishori Mohan Chatterjee.
46. Maulvi Sadudur Rahman.
47. Babu Sudhir Chandra Bardhan.
48. Maulvi Rahmat Ullah.
49. Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta.
50. Babu Mohini Mohan Datta.
51. Maulvi Md. Ruhul Amin.
52. Babu Himansu Kumar Adhikary.
53. Babu Suresh Chandra Bhattacharjee.
54. Maulvi Samsuddin Ahmed.
55. Babu Debendra Nath Ganguly.
56. Babu Sarajulal Bose.
57. Babu Souribilas Mukherjee.
58. Babu Jatindra Kumar Nag.
59. Maulvi Anisur Rahman.
60. Babu Jatindra Mohan Majumdar.
61. Babu Bisnupada Chatterjee.
62. Maulvi Asraf Ali.
63. Maulvi Samsul Hosain.
64. Babu Jogendra Nath Mallik.
65. Babu Kulada Kinkar Ghosh.
66. Babu Rebati Mohan Guha Thakurta.
67. Maulvi Samiruddin Kazi.
68. Maulvi A. F. Basirul Huq Choudhury.
69. Babu Santosh Kumar Bhattacharjee.
70. Babu Surendra Nath Das Gupta.
71. Babu Lalit Kumar Basu.

## 1930-31.

1. Babu Nalini Prasanna Gupta, Technical Adviser.
2. Babu Jadu Nath Ganguly.
3. Maulvi Abdul Ghaffar.
4. Maulvi Kubbat Ali.
5. Maulvi Badaruddin Ahmed.
6. Maulvi Elah Newaj Khan.
7. Maulvi Abu Nazem Saiduddin.
8. Maulvi Taebuddin Ahmed.
9. Maulvi Golam Mahboob Choudhury.
10. Maulvi Abdul Gani.
11. Maulvi Md. Sadat Ali.
12. Maulvi Kazem Ali.
13. Babu Suresh Chandra Sen.
14. Babu Mritunjoy Mukharjee.
15. Babu Binoy Bhusan Sen.
16. Babu Jagadish Chandra Bhattacharjee.
17. Babu Hrishikesh Mazumdar.
18. Babu Jogendra Nath Sen.
19. Babu Basanta Kumar Sen.
20. Babu Pravasa Chandra Chatterjee.
21. Babu Narendra Nath Sen Gupta.
22. Babu Narendra Nath Singh.
23. Babu Suresh Chandra Das Gupta.
24. Babu Surendra Nath Basu.
25. Babu Kalipada Rai Choudhury.
26. Babu Joyneswar Mazumdar.
27. Babu Nalini Mohan Chakraborty.
28. Babu Mohini Mohan Das.
29. Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee.
30. Babu Kamala Kanta Batabyal.
31. Babu Santosh Kumar Chakraborty.
32. Babu Birendra Nath Guha.
33. Babu Hara Lal Banerjee.
34. Babu Umesh Chandra Chakraborty.
35. Babu Chandra Nath Chakraborty.
36. Maulvi Afzalul Haque.
37. Maulvi Ahmeduddin Shah.
38. Babu Prafulla Kumar Gupta.
39. Babu Mahendra Narayan Sirkar.
40. Babu Santosh Kumar Mukherjee.
41. Babu Moni Mohan Mukherjee.

## 1931-32.

1. Babu Lalit Kumar Bose.
2. Babu Jadu Nath Ganguly.
3. Maulvi Samiruddin Kazi.
4. Maulvi Abdul Ghaffar.
5. Babu Upendra Kishore Mazumdar.
6. Maulvi Elah Newaj Khan.
7. Babu Jogendra Nath Sen.
8. Babu Suresh Chandra Sen.
9. Maulvi Tayebuddin Ahmed.
10. Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee.
11. Maulvi Kubbat Ali.
12. Babu Nalini Prasanna Gupta, Technical Adviser.
13. Babu Basanta Kumar Sen.
14. Babu Sarajulal Basu.
15. Babu Prafulla Kumar Gupta.
16. Babu Pravasa Chandra Chatterjee.
17. Babu Santosh Kumar Chakraborty.
18. Maulvi Rahmat Ullah.
19. Babu Sudhir Chandra Bardhan.
20. Babu Rebati Mohan Guha Thakurta.
21. Babu Suresh Chandra Bhattacharjee.
22. Babu Moni Mohan Mukherjee.
23. Babu Santosh Kumar Mukherjee.
24. Babu Jogendra Nath Mallik.
25. Babu Suresh Chandra Das Gupta.
26. Babu Hrishikesh Majumdar.
27. Babu Surendra Kumar Sur.
28. Babu Narendra Nath Singh.
29. Babu Hara Lal Banerjee.
30. Babu Jatindra Mohan Majumdar.
31. Babu Bisnupada Chatterjee.
32. Maulvi Badaruddin Ahmed.
33. Babu Kishori Mohan Chatterjee.
34. Babu Kalipada Rai Choudhury.
35. Babu Birendra Nath Guha.
36. Babu Kamala Kanta Batabyal.
37. Babu Jagadish Chandra Bhattacharjee.

## 1933-34.

1. Babu Jatindra Mohan Chatterjee.

## APPENDIX VI.

## (a) List of important notifications.

## MALDA.

1. (a) Notification No. 13090 L.R., dated the 13th August 1927 (under Act V of 1875). Declaring the area of the district to be surveyed.
- (b) Notification No. 14453 L.R., dated the 7th December 1929 (under Act V of 1875). Declaring the area of Mahananda strip to be surveyed.
- (c) Notification No. 11153 Jur., dated the 22nd August 1929, and No. 2026 T.R., dated the 22nd October 1931 (under Act V of 1875). Declaring the area of Bhutni Diara to be surveyed.
2. (a) Notification No. 16035 L.R., dated the 24th August 1928 (under Act VIII of 1885). Authorising the preparation of the record-of-rights of the district.
- (b) Notification No. 14454 L.R., dated the 7th December 1931 (under Act VIII of 1885). Authorising the preparation of the record-of-rights of Mahananda river strip.
- (c) Notification No. 11154 Jur., dated the 22nd August 1929, and No. 2027 L.R., dated the 22nd October 1931 (under Act VIII of 1885). Authorising the preparation of the record-of-rights of the Bhutni Diara area.
3. (a) Notification No. 10520 L.R., dated the 12th October 1915, and No. 3855 L.R., dated the 15th April 1920 (under Act IX of 1847). Ordering a survey to be made on the banks and the beds of the rivers in the district.
4. Diara completion notification No. 15751 L.R., dated the 23rd September 1935, and No. 21 L.R., dated the 2nd January 1936 (under Act IX of 1847). Completing the diara survey of the district.
5. Notification No. 11145 Jur., dated the 22nd August 1929, and No. 2025 T. R., dated the 22nd October 1931. Inclusion of the Bhutni Diara area in the district of Malda from the Province of Bihar and Orissa.

## (b) Apportionment Order.

**Malda.**—No. 943 T.R., dated the 29th October 1932, and No. 4148 L.R., dated the 27th March 1933.—Under section 114 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885 (Act VIII of 1885), the Governor in Council has determined that in police-stations Bamangola, Gajole, Malda, Kharba, Harischandrapur, Habibpur, Bholahat, Nawabganj, Gomastapur, Nachole, Ratua, Manikchak, Sibganj, Kaliachak and English Bazar in the district of Malda, where the preparation of record-of-rights has been undertaken under notification No. 16035 L.R., dated the 24th August 1928, the landlords' and tenants' share of cost for the survey and the preparation of record-of-rights, including the estimated cost of maintenance of boundary marks for a period of fifteen years, shall be apportioned and recovered as specified below:—

(1) The rate of Re. 1-4 shall be levied per acre, of which the raiyats including persons holding non-agricultural tenancies shall pay 8 annas per acre and their landlords of all grades together 12 annas per acre.

Common lands such as rivers, roads, khals, burning ghats, etc., shall be excluded from assessment, but not tanks even if used for irrigation.

(2) Landlords shall pay the raiyats' share for lands in their khas possession and raiyats shall pay the full raiyati rate for lands covered by their holdings.

(3) Rent-free holders, whether of the degree of raiyats, or tenure-holders, shall pay the whole of the landlords' share for their lands.

(4) As between the different grades of landlords, the landlords' share shall be apportioned thus:—

(a) Permanent tenure-holders, whose rent or rate of rent is fixed in perpetuity, shall pay their own share of the cost and that of the landlords superior to them.

(b) Other permanent tenure-holders and temporary tenure-holders, whose lease has over fifteen years to run, shall pay three-fourths of the landlords' share and their landlords shall pay the remaining one-fourth.

(c) Temporary tenure-holders, whose lease has fifteen years to run, shall pay fifteen-sixteenths of the share they would pay in accordance with (b) above, if they were permanent tenure-holders, and if less than fifteen years, proportionately according to the number of years of the lease to run.

- (d) Temporary tenure-holders, who do not hold on a lease or for a fixed term, shall pay half of the landlords' share.

*Explanation.*—The calculation shall be made from the lowest grade of landlords immediately above the raiyats. The period for which the lease of the tenure or under-tenure is to run, is to be reckoned in each case from the close of the agricultural year in which the record is finally published.

- (5) (a) Under-raiyats having a right of occupancy or protected by section 48C (e) (i) (1) and (2), shall pay at the rate of 4 annas for a tenancy or part of a tenancy recorded in one village.

- (b) Other under-raiyats shall be exempted from assessment.

- (6) The calculation shall be made—

- (a) to the nearest anna;  
 (b) areas less than one acre shall be charged for as one acre;  
 (c) for broken areas over one acre, there shall be no charge for the broken portion, if less than half an acre; but if the broken portion be half an acre or upwards, it shall be taken as a full acre; and  
 (d) the minimum charge for any tenancy or part of a tenancy recorded in one village shall be 4 annas only.

#### APPENDIX VII.

##### (a) List of Government and temporarily-settled private estates under settlement of land revenue, Government Estates.

Serial No.	Estate No.	New area.		New revenue.			Period.	Nature of settlement.
		A.	D.	Rs. a. p.				
1	487	20	55	23	0	0	15 years from 1-4-1932	Farming.
2	270	15	91	29	0	0	Ditto ..	Do.
3	489	57	37	71	0	0	Ditto ..	Khas. or direct management.
4	482	50	96	83	0	0	Ditto ..	Farming.
5	473	41	54	63	11	0	1 year from 1-4-1933	Do.
6	484	35	12	79	12	0	Ditto ..	Do.
7	485	73	21	142	0	0	Ditto ..	Do.
8	693	110	39	248	11	0	Ditto ..	Khas.
9	616	95	13	288	4	0	Ditto ..	Do.
10	272	196	40	374	2	0	Ditto ..	Do.
11	88	387	37	607	3	0	Ditto ..	Do.
12	613	125	52	164	10	0	Ditto ..	Do.
13	41	330	30	658	2	0	Ditto ..	Do.
14	823	819	74	1,977	11	0	Permanent tenure with variable rent.	Regular settlement.
15	35	37	55	77	8	0	15 years from 1-4-1933	Khas.
16	825	151	51	4,174	9	0	Ditto ..	Do.
17	278	594	87	1,251	14	0	15 years from 1-4-1934	Do.

##### Temporarily-settled private estates.

1	547	34	42	94	0	0	15 years from 1-4-1933	Proprietary.
2	561	30	16	53	0	0	Ditto ..	Do.
3	755	97	47	113	0	0	Ditto ..	Do.
4	758	230	79	293	0	0	Ditto ..	Do.
5	946	87	02	198	0	0	Ditto ..	Do.
6	945	78	65	155	0	0	Ditto ..	Do.



## APPENDIX VII—contd.

## (b) List of Government and temporarily-settled private estates not under settlement of land revenue Government estates.

Serial No.	Tauzi. No.	Area.		Revenue.			Date of expiry of settlement.	Remarks.
		A.	D.	Rs. a. p.				
1	496	482	45	792	3	0	31st March 1937.	
2	607	1	17	4	4	0	Ditto.	
3	687	3	00	3	9	6	Ditto.	
4	828	211	73	798	5	9	Ditto.	
5	186	7	41	95	3	0	Ditto.	
6	96	180	14	2,375	2	3	31st March 1938.	
7	650	37	64	95	7	0	31st March 1940.	
8	541	7,010	62	9,766	13	10	31st March 1941.	
9	952	59	38	134	10	0	31st March 1942.	
10	472	1,359	38	2,771	8	0	Ditto.	
11	4BII	2	91	11	4	0	31st March 1937.	
12	557	..	..	7,304	0	0	....	Government fishery estates.
13	74	127	50	..	..	..	....	Without demand.
14	311	..	98	..	..	..	....	Ditto.
15	632	..	..	..	..	..	....	Missing estate.
16	654	3	00	..	..	..	....	Untraced.
17	668	5	00	..	..	..	....	Ditto.

## Temporarily-settled private estates.

1	708	5,297	26	1,137	0	0	31st March 1937	Proprietary settlement.
2	709	2	68	2	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
3	711	176	65	376	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
4	713	62	71	140	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
5	714	150	42	226	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
6	715	26	57	52	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
7	716	14	60	46	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
8	717	45	47	139	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
9	718	63	27	182	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
10	719	46	49	77	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
11	720	55	81	147	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
12	721	96	43	173	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
13	722	118	29	195	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
14	723	229	58	474	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
15	736	2	22	2	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
16	739	190	56	253	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
17	757	64	87	127	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
18	759	99	37	232	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
19	750	22	12	45	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
20	762	18	92	44	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
21	744	11	63	17	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
22	747	187	84	301	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
23	754	71	65	72	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
24	771	75	12	144	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
25	725	21	01	32	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
26	726	301	43	358	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
27	727	96	63	119	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
28	728	38	12	19	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
29	730	59	83	106	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
30	731	10	20	11	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
31	732	29	61	43	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
32	733	19	34	21	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
33	734	67	09	105	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
34	735	718	96	1,458	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
35	737	50	16	53	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
36	740	207	21	430	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
37	752	447	02	469	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.
38	826	1,071	19	1,699	0	0	Ditto	Ditto.

## APPENDIX VII—contd.

Serial No.	Tauzi No.	Area.		Revenue.			Date of expiry of settlement.		Remarks.
		A.	D.	Rs. a. p.					
39	749	15	49	35	3	10	31st March 1937	..	Farming settlement.
40	710	245	23	587	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
41	712	81	18	99	1	0	Ditto	..	Managed by Government.
42	724	99	61	276	10	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
43	729	13	78	21	3	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
44	741	9	36	20	3	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
45	742	31	28	56	7	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
46	743	26	93	55	2	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
47	746	17	54	11	8	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
48	748	36	81	55	6	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
49	753	190	88	188	3	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
50	760	70	86	620	5	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
51	766	11	31	19	15	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
52	821	7	80	21	13	3	Ditto	..	Ditto.
53	540	(a) Not known.		871	4	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
		(b) 8,221		13,162	10	3	31st March 1942	..	Ditto.
54	563	113	00	84	10	0	31st March 1937	..	Ditto.
55	761	349	22	1,133	12	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
56	456	1,267	51	1,175	0	0	31st March 1940	..	Proprietary settlement.
57	556	342	05	461	3	3	Ditto	..	Managed by Government.
58	551	159	57	305	0	0	31st March 1942	..	Proprietary settlement.
59	829	81	75	159	0	0	31st March 1949	..	Ditto.
60	832	25	94	54	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
61	833	36	56	63	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
62	835	39	48	82	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
63	880	17	50	25	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
64	881	20	11	7	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
65	882	9	21	8	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
66	894	12	73	3	0	0	31st March 1950	..	Ditto.
67	905	308	78	454	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
68	906	292	92	343	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
69	908	88	84	62	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
70	909	34	93	64	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
71	913	65	96	57	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
72	914	289	92	819	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
73	915	28	24	42	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
74	910	222	08	444	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
75	902	126	32	202	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
76	842	69	92	172	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
77	843	20	97	44	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
78	844	28	12	55	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
79	845	15	01	36	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
80	846	20	43	54	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
81	848	1	69	3	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
82	850	9	22	23	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
83	916	67	36	17	0	0	31st March 1951	..	Ditto.
84	934	44	30	19	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
85	936	34	50	40	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
86	937	9	15	14	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
87	938	20	64	17	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
88	939	10	96	136	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
89	940	42	78	61	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
90	944	606	07	679	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
91	917	23	76	27	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
92	920	7	40	14	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
93	922	6	97	17	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
94	923	21	23	41	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
95	918	20	42	4	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
96	926	54	04	56	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
97	927	27	02	56	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
98	928	29	81	56	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
99	929	171	64	339	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
100	930	151	57	129	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
101	931	124	18	276	0	0	Ditto	..	Ditto.

## APPENDIX—VII—concl'd.

Serial No.	Tauzi No.	Area.		Revenue.	Date of expiry of settlement.		Remarks.
		A.	D.				
				Rs. a. p.			
102	900	238	05	242 0 0	31st March 1951	..	Proprietary settlement.
103	820	34	81	39 8 1	8th August 1953	..	Ditto.
104	888	12	70	5 1 0	31st March 1939	..	Managed by Government.
105	830	17	60	29 10 0	31st March 1944	..	Ditto.
106	831	9	39	43 12 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
107	834	133	79	190 13 8	Ditto	..	Ditto.
108	836	10	29	19 2 3	Ditto	..	Ditto.
109	837	6	66	12 1 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
110	838	11	93	29 1 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
111	839	8	28	14 2 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
112	883	46	53	61 1 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
113	884	55	02	107 4 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
114	885	306	98	614 11 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
115	878	16	10	13 1 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
116	879	10	32	16 10 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
117	887	68	53	73 9 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
118	892	248	21	271 0 0	31st March 1945	..	Ditto.
119	893	103	27	243 3 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
120	895	8	23	18 13 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
121	896	57	09	96 5 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
122	897	34	94	121 8 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
123	898	396	39	595 4 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
124	847	7	46	28 7 4	Ditto	..	Ditto.
125	849	2	74	5 12 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
126	904	274	78	770 3 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
127	907	74	22	177 12 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
128	911	59	84	71 3 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
129	912	14	18	55 12 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
130	899	4	68	4 7 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
131	901	33	66	49 6 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
132	851	4	10	3 15 0	31st March 1946	..	Ditto.
133	852	4	47	7 10 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
134	853	3	66	2 12 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
135	854	27	61	74 10 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
136	935	26	33	38 15 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
137	841	10	87	22 15 6	Ditto	..	Ditto.
138	919	234	00	393 1 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
139	921	3	82	23 5 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
140	924	5	07	17 8 3	Ditto	..	Ditto.
141	932	53	14	125 15 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
142	942	105	39	224 13 0	Ditto	..	Ditto.
143	772	193	00	..	31st March 1937	..	Without demand.
144	738	791	31	..	Ditto	..	Ditto.
145	886	30	09	..	31st March 1939	..	Ditto.
146	903	14	60	..	31st March 1940	..	Ditto.

## APPENDIX VIII.

## List of new diara estates.

See Chapter III, Part II of the Report.

## APPENDIX IX.

## (a) List of foreign tauzis having lands in Malda.

## District Dinajpur.

Serial No.	Tauzi No.	Area.		Revenue.			Serial No.	Tauzi No.	Area.		Revenue.		
		A.	D.	Rs.	a.	p.			A.	D.	Rs.	a.	p.
1	4	158	96	2,389	8	0							
2	39	937	80	3,706	11	8	16	195	144	24	335	0	3
3	44	352	18	2,186	10	8	17	236	81	40	7,317	2	1
4	54	27	12	26,223	8	0	18	237	3,531	92	4,660	8	1
5	56	11	79	18,001	12	5	19	338	3,392	38	3,028	6	10
6	59	15	52	4,625	4	11	20	358	104	99	575	8	0
7	63	2	96	7,647	0	9	21	366	1	67	314	8	7
8	85	240	63	8,879	2	0	22	367	5	43	393	2	9
9	86	284	45	8,879	2	0	23	392	10	62	2,538	0	10
10	157	79	86	2,538	0	10	24	393	220	39	296	13	3
11	158	3,049	52	4,260	1	9	25	425	3,098	48	4,260	1	9
12	160	117	33	296	13	1	26	455	1,846	79	34,383	13	0
13	184	1,952	27	5,191	10	11	27	471	611	52	729	15	4
14	191	280	33	2,911	14	6	28	472	94	25	2,489	13	9
15	194	3,105	50	5,044	13	6	29	910	1,882		1,817	0	11

## District Purnea.

1	22	8,226	77	41,093	14	0	10	729	80	59	125	3	10
2	23	628	76	11,381	8	1	11	893	30	39	7	1	0
3	38	14,349	99	19,913	7	0	12	1,035	32	29	56	9	0
4	41	993	06	4,840	3	11	13	1,046	3	03	19	3	3
5	42	14,281	57	5,730	14	8	14	1,221	2,107	23	1,710	0	0
6	52	523	67	6,553	11	7	15	1,261	3,099	83	11,381	8	1
7	62	128	60	49	14	11	16	1,262	849	60	5,173	6	8
8	65	565	78	13,301	3	0	17	1,264	570	87	8,277	7	3
9	611	77	10	69	6	9	18	1,937	12,510	39	23,581	5	0

## District Rajshahi.

1	1	151	96	30,595	12	0	39	2202	798	33	10,656	13	0
2	2	458	07	55,395	9	0	40	2203	2,142	91	16,030	2	0
3	3	55	20	3,524	0	0	41	2360	87	33	1,513	11	0
4	4	55	06	3,524	0	0	42	2361	87	30	1,513	11	0
5	6	67	68	10,428	13	0	43	2362	86	91	1,513	11	0
6	7	67	68	10,418	15	0	44	2377	44	41	212	13	0
7	8	46	94	10,412	10	0	45	2590	379	27	4,174	8	2
8	9	48	33	10,415	9	0	46	2591	379	66	4,174	8	2
9	182	277	67	3,531	15	0	47	2592	368	10	4,174	8	2
10	288	325	43	2,089	7	0	48	2593	331	55	3,506	9	0
11	291	191	48	1,001	2	0	49	2606	1,423	91	7,459	13	0
12	294	29	73	1,044	12	0	50	2607	183	75	2,131	6	0
13	297	41	38	482	7	0	51	2608	121	89	1,420	10	0
14	298	5	38	8,760	8	0	52	2609	1	17	1,387	14	0
15	299	1,852	79	8,587	1	0	53	2610	1	18	1,387	7	0
16	355	117	53	6,522	13	0	54	2611	1	18	1,387	7	0
17	359	1,811	73	6,061	0	0	55	2612		85	1,165	10	0
18	360	251	80	181	11	0	56	2613	92	03	1,065	11	0
19	361	371	28	1,075	1	0	57	2614	92	07	1,065	11	0
20	365	374	21	690	13	0	58	2615	40	82	473	12	0
21	374	515	01	471	6	0	59	2616	40	82	473	12	0
22	378	8	47	1,629	13	0	60	2617	30	97	355	8	0
23	379	187	33	444	9	0	61	2618	29	84	341	6	0
24	381	757	21	656	14	0	62	2619	14	13	161	2	0
25	382	764	55	656	14	0	63	2620	13	71	158	3	0
26	383	769	09	656	14	0	64	2621	6	21	115	5	0
27	412	66	23	447	13	0	65	2622	10	07	115	5	0
28	413	39	71	303	11	0	66	2623	9	03	105	5	0
29	1241	41	54	58	0	0	67	2624	7	74	88	11	0
30	1247	15	23	115	2	0	68	2625	6	80	79	1	0
31	1252	216	87	119	7	0	69	2626	6	78	79	1	0
32	1279	74	14				70	2627	6	79	79	1	0
33	1554	20	84	12	9	0	71	2628	6	76	79	1	0
34	1580	157	03	31,191	1	0	72	2629	3	38	38	5	0
35	2026	51	62	471	13	0	73	2630	7	24	38	5	0
36	2027	5	38	629	1	0	74	2631	3	38	38	5	0
37	2199	1,912	20	31,935	5	0	75	2632	1	94	22	8	0
38	2200	2,158	02	16,828	11	1	76	2676	124	43	443	0	0

*District Murshidabad.*

Serial No.	Tauzi No.	Area.		Revenue.	Serial No.	Tauzi No.	Area.		Revenue.
		A.	D.	Rs. a. p.			A.	D.	Rs. a. p.
1	116	247	87	613 5 4	11	271	221	99	2,246 2 0
2	173	11	90	394 7 1	12	294	932	92	1,135 9 5
3	174	13	03	433 14 3	13	390	522	16	34,795 14 0
4	175	9	60	315 8 11	14	403	529	08	2,373 5 3
5	176	7	60	341 15 7	15	405	328	13	3,182 5 0
6	187	9,031	87	649 9 3	16	432	1,043	95	9,587 8 0
7	199	121	60	3,922 1 2	17	594	32	29	988 14 0
8	268	77	79	795 4 0	18	925	1	97	85 7 11
9	269	75	59	775 5 3	19	2712	17,415	43	34,849 3 0
10	270	413	09	3,449 14 0					

*District Birbhum.*

1	1152	15,780	54	1,80,203 15 4
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*Revenue-free estates.**District Dinajpur.*

1	89	149	48
2	102	150	64
3	107	21	90

*District Purnea.*

1	28	56	70
2	77	17	08
3	138	34	44
4	152	44	16

*District Santal Parganas.*

1	128	390	33	318 2 0
2	325	557	97	1,297 1 0
3	427	1,969	57	1,664 4 0
4	453	476	40	466 10 0

*District Bogra.*

1	3	221	06	6,187 2 2
2	4	110	54	3,094 2 10
3	5	110	53	2,678 7 0

**APPENDIX IX.****(b) List of foreign revenue-free tauzis which have lands in Malda.***District Dinajpur.*

Serial No.	Tauzi No.	Area.		Revenue.
		A.	D.	
1	89-BI	..	..	Revenue-free.
2	102BI	..	..	Do.
3	107-BI.	..	..	Do.

*District Purnea.*

Serial No.	Tauzi No.	Area.		Revenue.
		A.	D.	
1	28BI	..	..	Revenue-free.
2	77BI	..	..	Do.
3	138BI	..	..	Do.
4	152BI	..	..	Do.

**List and description of B II Estates.**

1	14 BII	..	..	Revenue-free.	2	16 BII	..	..	Revenue-free.
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## APPENDIX X.

## List of missing tauzis (Revenue-paying).

Tauzi No.	Revenue.	Name of thana according to Mahalawar Register.	Area.	Name of village according to Mahalawar Register.	Remarks
	Rs. a. p.		A. R. P.		
10	5 1 0	Nawabganj ..	49 2 14	Beeldakhral, J. L. Nil ..	Not found in the jurisdiction list.
*74	4 3 0	Ditto ..	127 2 16	Gokool, J. L. 79, New Jurisdiction 21.	No chak mentioned in the thak.
94	90 4 0	Ditto ..	130 1 7	Neeshadulpoor, J. L. Nil	Not found in the jurisdiction list.
248	66 13 0	Shibganj ..	651 1 26	Surjanarayanpur, J. L. Nil ..	Ditto.
251	235 2 0	Ditto ..	76 2 23	Karkhana Jaharpur, J. L. Nil	Ditto.
257	11 9 0	Ratua ..	28 1 4	Uharchak, J. L. Nil ..	Ditto.
*447	1 10 8	Kaliachak ..	4 1 31	Jamalpur English, J. L. 151, New J. L. 146.	No chak mentioned in the thak.
474	7 8 0	Shibganj ..	6 2 28	Chuha Suklapur, J. L. Nil ..	Not found in the jurisdiction list.
480	4 7 0	Ditto ..	7 3 35	Gangarampur, J. L. 90, New J. L. 44.	No chak mentioned in the thak.
†492	0 10 0	English Bazar	0 0 33	Nischintapur, J. L. 122 Englishitola.	Not found in the jurisdiction list.
*511	2 14 0	Ditto ..	0 3 31	Engrezabad, J. L. 103, New J. L. 67.	Not found in the thak.
521	142 0 0	Nawabganj ..	143 1 15	Kasimpur, J. L. Nil ..	Not found in the jurisdiction list.
*539	30 0 0	Kaliachak ..	47 3 15	Dharampur, J. L. 73 New J. L. 109.	Not found in the thak.
*562	265 8 6	Ratua ..	2,355 0 34	Mahabbatpur and other, J. L. 206.	Not found in the jurisdiction list.
602	3 3 0	Manda ..	54 1 34	Bangalpara, J. L. Nil ..	Ditto.
632	5 0 0	Gazole ..	87 1 12	Lakhipur, J. L. 166, old J. L. 264.	

\*Since removed from the tauzi roll by the Board's orders.

†Since sold revenue-free under the Board's order.

## APPENDIX XI.

## List and description of B II Estates, Malda.

Serial No.	Estate No.	Description of estates.	Area.	Remarks.
1	1	Revenue and Criminal.		
2	2	Civil Department.		
3	3	Public Works Department.		
4	4	Police Department.		
5	5	Post and Telegraph Department.		
6	7	Excise and Salt Department.		
7	8	Jail Department.		
8	9	Education Department.		
9	10	Agriculture Department.		
10	11	District Board.		
11	12	Eastern Bengal Railway.		
12	14	Imperial Road.		
13	15	Old Malda Municipality.		
14	16	English Bazar Municipality.		
15	17	Union Board.		



## APPENDIX XII.

**Important correspondence regarding the English Tauzis.**

- (1) *Letter, dated the 5th August 1823, from the Collector of Purnea, to the Secretary, Board of Revenue.*

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th January last with copy of one from Mr. H. S. Pennington.

Government purchased the following quantity of land for the use of invalid native officers and soldiers, viz., in June 1796, in Parganah Bhatteea Gopalpur eight thousand bighas for sicca rupees 3,000 at 6 annas per bigha from Guroo Pershad Rai Birj Sundar Umbecka and Soobhadra; on 18th May 1798 two thousand five hundred and eighty bighas in Parganah Ukberpore for sicca rupees 1,290 at 8 annas per bigha from Lukheenath Roy; on 16th March 1801, two thousand nine hundred and three bighas and nineteen cottahs in Kanjole for sicca rupees 1,451-15-12 gandas at 8 annas per bigha from Emam Bukhsh Choudhuri—altogether bighas 13,483-19 cottahs for sicca rupees 5,741-15-12.

Of the above 4,819 bighas 16 cottahs only have been allotted to the invalids, leaving 8,664 bighas 3 cottahs unappropriated. Those men had also lands rented for them from the abovenamed and other zamindars in the neighbourhood, of which transactions there is no record in this office, nor of the persons to which the grounds brought by Government, were assigned. The Hon'ble Company have never derived any advantage from these purchasers under the operation of section (illegible) Regulation 43 of 1793. The whole business is involved in confusion which cannot, I suspect, be satisfactorily cleared up even by a reference to the Regulating Officer, because the above Regulation has not been punctually observed by any of his predecessors: at least no traces of such attention are to be found in this office. I request that the Board will call on Colonel Franklin for all the information which he can supply on the subject.

In December 1819, the late acting Collector deputed a muharrir of this office to enquire respecting the public lands in thanas Gour and Khopakatte. The result of his report is contained in the enclosure No. 1. It will perhaps be necessary that the Regulating Officer himself should in conjunction with some one from this office proceed to those places in the ensuing cold weather to ascertain the exact quantity of ground which does and does not justly belong to the invalids or their heirs and to pay the revenue which Government have a right to claim from the latter. It is also advisable that Captain Gerrard, Conservator of Forests at Naithpore, should visit those lands for the purpose of determining in prosecution of the views of Government as stated in the letter of the Secretary in the Territorial Department, dated the 1st May 1823, whether the soil is fit for nurseries for season seedlings. His attention should be directed at the same time to the Government property

in Shabajpur and Malteepore on the banks of the Ganges near Gour, some of which may perhaps be calculated for the growth of timbers.

Till these different investigations shall have been completed and duly considered the Board will of course defer passing any final orders on Mr. Pennington's application for a Talookdaree potta for any part of the lands in question.

- (2) *Collector of Malda's letter No. 1685, dated the 26th April 1917, to the Commissioner, Rajshahi Division, when four applications were filed for mutation in the Malikana Register.*

Mutation of names in Malikana Register and payment of malikana due to proprietors of Estate Tauzi No. 140.

I have the honour to state that four applications have been filed (1) by Sadaruddin Choudhuri, (2) by Feribi and Mannoo Choudhuri, (3) by Jnanada Prosanna Lahiri and (4) by Kunja Behari and Jagabandhu Biswas for mutation of their names in Malikana Register No. 66 in respect of English mahals situated in Pargana Habilitara, Mauza Krishnapur, bearing Tauzi No. 140 of the Malda Collectorate, on the ground that they are the present recorded proprietors of the estate. From thakbust papers it appears that certain plots of lands appertaining to Mauza Krishnapur, Pargana Habilitara, Tauzi No. 140, as detailed in the Statement A annexed, were granted at jagirs to sepoys, sometime before the year 1843 (the exact date is not traceable). These plots appear to have been resumed afterwards (the resumption proceedings are not forthcoming) and made separate tauzi mahals, as Nos. 395 to 410, and the revenue was fixed permanently. From the settlement records of 1843 when these English mahals Tauzi Nos. 395 to 410 were permanently settled, it appears that the malikana is payable for each of these mahals to Kallyan Choudhuri, Amroo Choudhuri and Kapurchand Choudhuri, the then proprietors of the parent estate Mauza Krishnapur, Pargana Habilitara, bearing Tauzi No. 140 of this Collectorate, and the amount of malikana payable for each of these estates was included in the amount of land revenue fixed for each of them. The amount of malikana has also been noted against each of these estates in General Register A except the estate bearing Tauzi No. 402. This appears to be a clerical omission.

It also appears from Malikana Register No. 66 that a total sum of Rs. 40-7 as detailed in the annexed statement B was payable to the abovementioned Kallyan, Amroo and Kapurchand Choudhuries—the zamindars of Pargana Habilitara.

The abovenamed Kallyan, Amroo and Kapurchand Choudhuri died long ago; but their names are still shown in Register No. 66 (register of permanent malikana) as malikandars of these English mahals. No rolls appear ever to have been prepared for these mahals nor any payment of malikana is known ever to have been taken.

The petitioners are the present recorded proprietors of the estate Krishnapur, Parganah Habilitara, Tauzi No. 140 of this Collectorate, and it appears from the sale deeds filed by the first two that the right to receive malikana was also conveyed along with the proprietary right of the estate. The last two have not yet filed any sale deeds.

From these facts I am of opinion that the petitioners deserve some consideration, but as no treasury record of payment of malikana

could be traced even in the Accountant-General's office, and no mutation of names has taken place, although the estate passed through many hands, I would solicit your instruction as to whether the petitioner's prayers (1) that their names be substituted in Register No. 66 in place of Kallyan, Amroo and Kapurchand Choudhuri for their respective shares and (2) that rolls be prepared and given to them accordingly, should now be granted.

*Statement A showing the numbers of plots of Mauza Krishnapur constituting the English Mahals  
Tauzi Nos. 395-410.*

Tauzi No.	Name of estate.	Number of plots of mauza Krishnapur forming the estates.
395	Jaigir Burton Jamadar .. ..	134.
396	Ditto .. ..	107 and 108.
397	Ditto .. ..	162.
398	Jaigir Sukha Roy Habildar .. ..	178, 179 and 187.
399	Jaigir Duem Khan Habildar .. ..	174, 175, 176 and 177.
400	Jaigir Dasrath Sing Habildar .. ..	168, 169, 170, 171 and 172.
401	Jaigir Monor Khan Habildar .. ..	164, 165, 166 and 167.
402	Jaigir Akhil Habildar .. ..	140, 142.
403	Jaigir Sazu Habildar .. ..	135, 136, 152 and 153.
404	Jaigir Emamuddin Habildar .. ..	157, 158 and 161.
405	Ditto .. ..	154, 155 and 156.
406	Jaigir Bathi Sing Laek .. ..	202 and 203.
407	Jaigir Majum Laek .. ..	204, 205, 210, 211 and 212.
408	Jaigir Pir Khan Laek .. ..	173.
409	Jaigir Bakus Laek .. ..	9, 10, 11 and 21.
410	Jaigir Bijai Singh Sepoy .. ..	139.

*Statement B showing the amount of malikana payable for each of the estates shown below.*

Serial No.	Name of estates.	To whom payable as shown in Register 66.	Amount.
			Rs. a. p.
1	Tauzi No. 395, Jaigir Burton Jamadar ..	Kalyan, Amroo and Kapurchand Choudhuri, zamindars of pargana Habilitara.	0 9 0
2	Tauzi No. 396, Jaigir Burton Jamadar ..	Ditto .. ..	0 9 0
3	Tauzi No. 397, Jaigir Burton Jamadar ..	Ditto .. ..	0 9 0
4	Tauzi No. 398, Jaigir Sukha Roy Habildar	Ditto .. ..	2 5 0
5	Tauzi No. 399, Jaigir Doem Khan Habildar	Ditto .. ..	3 5 0
6	Tauzi No. 400, Jaigir Dasarath Singh Habildar.	Ditto .. ..	4 4 0
7	Tauzi No. 401, Jaigir Monor Khan Habildar.	Ditto .. ..	3 3 0
8	Tauzi No. 402, Jaigir Akhil Habildar ..	Ditto .. ..	1 0 0
9	Tauzi No. 403, Jaigir Sazu Habildar ..	Ditto .. ..	3 7 0
10	Tauzi No. 404, Jaigir Emamuddin Habildar.	Ditto .. ..	1 3 0
11	Tauzi No. 405, Jaigir Emamuddin Habildar.	Ditto .. ..	1 3 0
12	Tauzi No. 406, Jaigir Bathi Singh Laek ..	Ditto .. ..	2 2 0
13	Tauzi No. 407, Jaigir Majum Laek ..	Ditto .. ..	5 4 0
14	Tauzi No. 408, Jaigir Pir Khan Laek ..	Ditto .. ..	0 11 0
15	Tauzi No. 409, Jaigir Bakus Laek ..	Ditto .. ..	6 10 0
16	Tauzi No. 410, Jaigir Bijay Singh Sepoy ..	Ditto .. ..	4 3 0
		Total ..	40 7 0

(3) *Commissioner of Rajshahi Division's reply No. 2704R./XXII-5, dated Jalpauri, the 15th August 1917, to the Collector of Malda's letter in (2).*

I have the honour to invite a reference to your letter No. 1685, dated the 26th April 1917, in which you ask for orders in respect of 4 applications for mutation of names in Register 66 "Recipients of permanent malikana" in your Collectorate.

2. From your letter it appears that the land now comprising the 16 revenue-paying estates bearing Tauzi Nos. 395 to 410 originally formed part of the revenue-paying estate Tauzi No. 140; that subsequently these lands were granted as jagirs to sepoys; and eventually they were permanently-settled and formed into 16 tauzi mahals.

3. Before these lands could be granted by Government to sepoys as jagirs some process corresponding to modern land acquisition proceedings must presumably have taken place; and the form the compensation took appears to have been a permanent malikana or periodic payment, instead of a full cash payment with abatement of land revenue as at present. I would enquire under what Regulation or Act these proceedings were taken. This information is necessary to show whether there were any rules of procedure governing the grant and future payment of such malikana.

4. I would also enquire whether the lands in question were taken out of the parent estate Tauzi No. 140 and permanently separated from it or whether they continued to be shown as forming part of that estate in the land registers, and still continue to be so shown. This can be ascertained by consulting your current combined register and Register C and all their predecessors back to the date of the grant of the malikana in question. It should also be noted whether the lands are shown in these registers as forming the estates bearing Tauzi Nos. 395 to 410. This information will show whether these lands are now hypothecated for the payment of the land revenue assessed on Tauzi No. 140 or for that assessed on Tauzi Nos. 395 to 410 or for both.

5. You should also ascertain and report what mention is made of this malikana in combined Registers A and D and its predecessors. You have already reported that the amount of malikana has been separately noted in Register A against each estate except Tauzi No. 102; but you do not state whether there is any corresponding entry in Tauzi No. 140. Do the entries in Register A against Tauzi Nos. 395, etc., show to whom the malikana is payable? If so, does it merely give the name of the recipient or does it describe him as proprietor of Tauzi No. 140 or does it do both? This information is necessary to show whether the malikana is a personal due or whether it is inseparable from the estate Tauzi No. 140.

Your reference to Tauzi No. 102 is not understood. Is the number a clerical mistake for 402? If not, a further explanation should be given. You report that this estate contains no mention of the malikana and you ascribe this to be a clerical omission. Whether it is or is not a clerical omission should be tested by examination of the previous land

registers back to the date when this estate was created.

6. The first point to be decided in this case is whether the right to receive malikana or in these 16 cases necessarily attaches to the recorded proprietor of Tauzi No. 140. The fact that this malikana is paid on a permanent pay order raises the presumption that the right to receive it is not inseparable from the proprietorship of Tauzi No. 140, but rests solely on registration in Register 66 and receipt of a permanent pay order as a result of such registration. If this is so, the fact that the present applicants are registered proprietors of Tauzi No. 140 gives them no claim whatever to payment of the malikana due on account of Tauzi Nos. 395-410; for the original proprietor of Tauzi No. 140 may have detained his estate but alienated his malikana.

7. You report that the right to receive malikana was conveyed to two at least of the petitioners by the sale deeds by which they acquired the proprietary rights to Tauzi No. 140. But you do not say when or by whom this right was conveyed. The transferer could not convey to the transferee a stronger title than he himself had to the malikana. Did he ever possess the right to receive this malikana, and if he did, had it not been extinguished by limitation before the sale deed was executed in favour of the present recorded proprietors? The fact that no payment of this malikana has, as far as your office records show, ever been made to any one indicates not only that the right to it was long ago extinguished by limitation, but also the possibility that it was converted into some other form such as a cash payment, or an abatement in the land revenue of Tauzi No. 140.

8. I would ask you to examine whether the land revenue payable on account of Tauzi No. 140 is the same as when this estate was first permanently settled. If not, the successive changes in it should be traced to see what bearing, if any, they have on the present case. You should also consult your old registers and records to see whether the assets of the lands now forming Tauzi Nos. 395-410 were taken into consideration when fixing the permanent revenue payable on Tauzi No. 140, or whether at the time the assessment was made, these lands were rent-free.

9. As some indications whether the right to receive this malikana is inseparable from the proprietary right in Tauzi No. 140, I would ask you to examine the other cases of permanent malikana in Register 66, for which permanent pay orders are in existence, and to ascertain whether the present and past holders of those permanent pay orders are and always have been identical with the recorded proprietors of the parent estate out of which the new petty estates concerned were carved. If so, this fact lends some support to the inseparability of the two, but if there have been any differences these are strong evidence against the inseparability.

10. From paragraph 1 of section II of Chapter VII at page 151 of the Board's Rules, 1902, it will be seen that permanent malikana is of three kinds. The first kind (a) related to a case where the former proprietor permanently lost the whole of his estate whereas in the

second and third kinds (b) and (c) he lost only part. There seems to me to be radical difference between (a) on the one hand, and (b) and (c) on the other. In the former case payment must necessarily take some such form as a permanent pay order, seeing that the proprietor, has ceased to have any connection with the land. In the latter case, the proprietor has ceased to have any connection with the lands cut out of his estate and permanently settled, whether as jaigirs revenue-free, or as separate revenue-paying estates; but he retains an interest in the land that remains. His position is similar to that of the proprietor of an estate at the present day when part but not the whole of the estate is acquired under the Land Acquisition Act. When the parent estate is revenue-paying, the natural way of adjusting the compensation payable would be by permanent reduction in the revenue payable on the portion of the estate remaining. To retain the former revenue intact after the exclusion of a substantial area might endanger the revenue; and the loss could not be made good if the right to receive the permanent malikana were separable from the proprietorship of the parent estate. The proprietor might alienate his malikana right and his permanent pay order, and afterwards default in payment of his land revenue, which might then be found too high for the remaining lands to bear. Is there any such danger in the present case or are the lands now constituting Tauzi No. 140 ample security for the land revenue now assessed upon it?

11. I would also invite your attention to the orders of the Board of Revenue regarding malikana, reproduced at pages 76 and 77 of the Land Registration Manual, 1904.

The malikanadars referred to in this correspondence, so far as I can judge, appear to be those of the first kind only and not recipients of malikana for which permanent pay orders are issued (*vide* paragraphs 2 and 3 of Board's order No. 537A., dated the 16th June 1879). I would, however, observe that permanent pay orders seem really appropriate only in the case of malikana of the second kind, class (a), not classes (b) and (c). The present instances appear to fall under class (c); but this will be made clear if the information noted above is obtainable.

12. So far as I can judge at present, it seems to me that if the right to receive malikana in these cases attaches to the proprietorship of Tauzi No. 140, the simplest way would be to abate the land revenue of the estate by the amount of malikana annually payable in respect of it. If on the other hand the two are not inseparable, the right to receive malikana in these cases appears to have been extinguished long ago by limitation and I see no good reason for reviving it. I would ask you for your opinion in either case after ascertaining all the facts.

(4) *Collector of Malda's further report No. 4906, dated the 23rd December 1917, to the Commissioner in reply to (3).*

With reference to your letter No. 2704R./XXIII-5, dated the 16th August 1917, regarding 4 applications for mutation of

names in Register 66 "Recipients of permanent malikana," I have the honour to submit as follows:—

2. *Paragraph 3 of your letter.*—It is not known accurately under what regulation the initial proceedings forming these jaigirs were taken. It would appear that these jaigirs were formed before 1804. In Regulation 43 of 1793 A.D. Collectors are directed to take leases of waste lands for the purpose of granting jaigirs to soldiers, but from a letter of the Collector of Purnea, dated 1823 A.D., it appears that Government purchased outright several thousand bighas of land for this purpose and that the Regulations had not been observed. There is a reference in the kabuliyats of 1843 (copy enclosed) to the lands being settled under Regulation I of 1804. The settlement was made with the heirs of the jaigirdars. Under section 9 (II) of that Regulation the malikana was to be collected by the zamindar along with the rent. But in the present cases the heirs of the jaigirdars do not appear to have paid anything to the zamindars. At least in the earliest reference to these jaigirs, the kabuliyat of 1843, there is mention of payment of malikana only to Government. Accordingly it appears uncertain which regulation if any governed the settlements subsequently made.

3. Definite information starts from 1843 when the settlement was made with the heirs of the jaigirdars according to instruction contained in letter No. 81 of 18th April 1837 from the Sudder Revenue Board and rules circulated with Revenue Commissioner's letter No. 123 of 29th May 1838 which were approved by Government in their letter No. 779, dated the 1st May 1838. A copy of these rules is annexed for reference. In 1849 permanent settlement of these jaigir estates Tauzi Nos. 395 to 410, was confirmed by the Commissioner of the 12th Bhagalpur Division in his letter No. 399, dated the 19th March 1849 (copy enclosed). In the schedule attached to this letter these jaigirs have been described as unpurchased jaigirs, and the amount of malikana and Government revenue for them has been entered as shown in the annexed Statement A. There is no mention, either in the letter or in the schedule attached to it, of the persons to whom the malikana is payable. The malikana and the Government revenue shown herein differ in case of jaigir estates Tauzi Nos. 395 to 406 from those entered in the settlement papers of 1843 (*vide* Statement A annexed). This difference is probably due to the reasons set forth in the Malda Deputy Collector's letter No. 132 of the 16th March 1848 (copy annexed).

4. These jaigirs have been first shown in the panchasona register of 1853 in which, as well as in that of 1859, only the land revenue for these jaigir mahals has been entered, without the addition of the amount of malikana in respect of jaigir estates Tauzi Nos. 395 to 406, and the total of both Government revenue and malikana in respect of Tauzi Nos. 407 to 410. In register A of 1877 and 1891 the land revenue and the malikana have been separately shown in respect of all the jaigir estates except Tauzi No. 402. It will be seen from the annexed Statement A that the amount of malikana and Government revenue as shown in these two A registers is in agreement

with those entered in the schedule attached to the Revenue Commissioner's letter sanctioning the permanent settlement of these estates (referred to above). But the amount of malikana as shown in these registers and the schedule differs slightly from the figures entered in Register No. 66 "Recipient of permanent malikana" as shown in Statement B annexed. The difference is, I think, attributable to the elimination of pies at the time Register 66 was written.

5. *Your paragraph 4.*—At present these estates Tauzi Nos. 395 to 410 do not form part of Tauzi No. 140, and so far as our papers back to 1843 show, they did not form part of this estate. Before that date there is nothing to throw light on previous conditions.

It appears from the settlement papers of 1843 that these jaigir estates appertain to Mauza Krishnapur. The rest of this mauza comprises estate Tauzi No. 140, the proprietors of which were at that time Kallan Choudhuri, Chamroo Choudhuri, Amroo Choudhuri, and Kapur Chand Shah. The thakbust papers of 1850 show that the jaigir estates in question were formed out plots of Mauza Krishnapur, as mentioned in Statement A attached to my letter No. 1685, dated the 26th April 1917, with the modification that Tauzi No. 410 comprises plots Nos. 139, 133, 147, 148, 149 and 150. In all the land registers up to the present combined registers A and D and mauzawar C, these jaigir estates (Tauzi Nos. 395 to 410) have been entered as appertaining to Mauza Krishnapur, but no note has been made against Tauzi No. 140 to the effect that these mahals (395 to 410) have been formed out of this estate. From the Doult Kabuliyat, dated the 19th December 1833 (copy enclosed), it appears that the estate Tauzi No. 140 was permanently settled in 1833 for a land revenue of Rs. 163-6-18 gandas sicca which is equivalent to Rs. 174-5-3 Company's rugges. This amount (Rs. 174-5-3) is still being shown in the present registers and land revenue payable for estate Tauzi No. 140.

From the above it is clear that these jaigir estates are not hypothecated for the payment of land revenue assessed on estate Tauzi No. 140 but only for that assessed on Tauzi Nos. 395-410.

6. *Your paragraph 5.*—In the combined registers A and D the total of land revenue and malikana is entered against all the jaigir estates. In register A of 1877 and 1891 and the panchasona registers of 1853 and 1859 the land revenue and the malikana have been noted as reported in paragraph 4 above. In none of these registers is there any mention of the person to whom the malikana is payable. No mention is made against Tauzi No. 140 in combined registers A and D and its predecessors about the payment of malikana to the proprietors for these jaigir estates. Tauzi No. 102 is a clerical mistake for Tauzi No. 402. The fact that the malikana of Re. 1 is shown against Tauzi No. 402 in the schedule attached to the Revenue Commissioner of the Bhagalpore Division's letter confirming the settlement in perpetuity goes to show that the omission was due to mistake or oversight.

7. *Your paragraph 6.*—That the malikana for these jaigir mahals 395 to 410 was granted

to the zamindars of Mauza Krishnapore, Pargana Habilitara, which comprises estates Tauzi No. 140 is apparent from the following facts:

In the settlement papers of 1843 of these jaigir mahals I find a paper styled montokhop (extract) Jamabandi (copy annexed with English translation) which shows the method adopted in fixing the amount of malikana and land revenue as entered in the kabuliyats. It contains the names of the zamindars as well as those of jaigirdars, and the Mauza Kallan Choudhuri, Amroo Choudhuri, and Kapur Chand Saha are mentioned as zamindars of Mauza Krishnapur, Pargana Habilitara. These 3 persons and another man named Chamon Choudhuri are also shown in all the panchasona registers of 1838-39, 1943-44, 1848-49 and 1853-54 as proprietors of Mauza Krishnapur, Pargana Habilitara, which now constitutes Tauzi No. 140. It may be mentioned here that this estate was permanently settled with one Kallan Choudhuri in 1833, but it appears from a note on the Doult Kabuliyat of this estate that in 1834 the names of Amroo Choudhuri, Chamon Choudhuri and Kapur Chand Saha were added as proprietors of the estate (Tauzi No. 140) under orders of the then Commissioner and the Collector.

In paragraph 2 of the rules circulated with Revenue Commissioner's letter No. 123 of 29th May 1838 quoted above, it has been laid down that the proprietors or zamindars of the village or villages within the limit or limits of which the lands may be situated shall be entitled to receive annually from the date of grant rassoos or malikana at the rate of annas 2 per bigha. As the settlements of these jaigirs were regulated by these rules the right to receive malikana appears to attach to the zamindars of the estate Tauzi No. 140 and not to any particular individual.

*Your paragraph 7.*—The right to receive malikana was conveyed to Sadaruddin Choudhuri and Maziruddin Choudhuri along with the proprietary rights to estate Tauzi No. 140 in respect of 3 annas 8 pies share by Mahammad Nasiruddin Choudhuri by a sale deed, dated 13th Aswin 1312 B.S., i.e., 1905. In another case both malikana and proprietary right to Tauzi No. 140 in respect of 4 annas 6 pies share were alienated by Jagabandhu Sirkar to Feribi Choudhuri, Sadaruddin Choudhuri, and Majiruddin Choudhuri by a sale deed, dated 16th Bhadra 1319 B.S., i.e., 1910. Another deed of sale, dated 30th Ashar 1312 B.S., has been filed by which Manoo Choudhuri and Feribi Choudhuri purchased one anna 10 pies share of the proprietary and malikana rights of estate Tauzi No. 140. In the 4th deed of sale, dated 8th Falgoun 1310 B.S., executed by Sarbeswar Das in favour of Manoo Choudhuri and Feribi Choudhuri there is no mention of the transfer of malikana rights. Applicants Jnanada Prasanna Lahiri and Kunja Behari Biswas and another have not yet filed any sale deed in support of their claim. I called upon the applicants to prove that their predecessors-in-interest had the right to receive malikana but they failed to prove it or that their predecessors-in-interest had ever received the malikana.

As to the question of limitation I consulted the local Government Pleader. A copy of his opinion is submitted herewith for your perusal.

According to him the right to receive malikana is not extinguishable but the malikanadar cannot get it for more than 12 years and I concur with his views.

*Your paragraph 8.*—The amount of land revenue now payable for estate Tauzi No. 140 is Rs. 174-5 against Rs. 163-6-18 gandas sicca or Rs. 174-5-3 current coins fixed at the time of permanent settlement of this estate in 1833. The difference of pies 3 is due to the elimination of a fraction of an anna by the Tauzi Department.

As stated in answer to paragraph 3 of your letter under reference the jaigir lands in question had been granted before the permanent settlement of estate Tauzi No. 140 which took place in 1833. There is nothing to show whether or not these jaigir lands were taken into consideration in fixing the land revenue of estate Tauzi No. 140 in perpetuity. But the grant of malikana at a date subsequent to the permanent settlement of Tauzi No. 140 raises a presumption that no such consideration was made. These lands were not rent-free as rent was assessed on them.

*Paragraph 9 of your letter.*—From enquiries made as to the other entries of Register 66 it appears that in all cases the recipients of malikana are the same as recorded proprietors of the estates from which the jaigir mahals were formed except in cases of jaigir mahals Tauzi Nos. 371 to 394 and 412 to 424 the malikana for which is paid to the patnidars of the original estate in whose names the rolls have been issued.

*Your paragraph 10.*—The malikana allowed in these cases seems to fall under class II (c)

—permanent malikana of a pensionary nature as indicated in section II, page 152 of the Board's Rules, 1902, as it would appear from the facts stated above that it was granted because the jaigir lands were once situated within the limits of Mauza Krishnapur or in other words for the loss of area covered by jaigir lands. I have already stated (1) that these jaigir lands are not hypothecated for the payment of land revenue for estate Tauzi No. 140, (2) that the right to receive malikana is separable from the proprietorship of the parent estate and (3) that the assets of the lands now forming the jaigir estates in question were presumably not taken into consideration in fixing the land revenue of Tauzi No. 140 in perpetuity. These facts, and the fact that land revenue for estate Tauzi No. 140 has all along been regularly paid, will go to show that lands now remaining in estate Tauzi No. 140 are capable of bearing the land revenue assessed upon them.

*Your paragraph 11.*—The malikana falls, in my opinion, under class II.(c) as stated above.

*Your paragraph 12.*—As the malikana in these cases appears to attach to the proprietorship of Tauzi No. 140, as stated before, the right to receive it has not been extinguished but the present applicants are not entitled to it for more than 12 years or before the date of their purchase whichever is later.

As to the abatement of the land revenue of an estate Tauzi No. 140 by the amount of malikana annually payable for it in lieu of yearly cash payment, I think there will be no objection on the part of the applicants to this course. In fact some of the applicants have prayed for the abatement.

#### Statement A.

Malikana and Sudder or Government Jammah as shown in schedule of unpurchased jaigirs attached to Revenue Commissioner's letter No. 309, dated the 19th March 1849.						Malikana and Government Jammah as shown in settlement papers of 1843.			Malikana and land revenue as shown in Register "A" of 1877 and 1891.		
Name of Jaigirders.	Description of jaigir.	Government or Sudder Jammah.	Zamindars Russoom.	Total demand.	Tauzi No. given to these jaigirs.	Government or Sudder Jammah.	Zamindars Russoom.	Total demand.	Government revenue.	Malikana.	Total demand.
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Bhurtim Jamadar	Mauza Kistopur, pargana Habiltara.	2 12 0	1 12 3½	4 9 0½	395	0 7 10	1 2 10½	1 10 8½	0 14 11	0 9 5½	1 8 4½
				0	396	0 7 10	1 2 10½	1 10 8½	0 14 11	0 9 5½	1 8 4½
				0	397	0 7 10	1 2 10½	1 10 8½	0 14 11	0 9 5½	1 8 4½
				0	398	0 7 10	1 2 10½	1 10 8½	0 14 11	0 9 5½	1 8 4½
Sooka Rai Havilder.	Do. ..	3 14 5½	2 5 3	6 3 8½	398	2 2 6	4 10 6	6 13 0	3 14 5½	2 5 3	6 3 8½
Dalm Khan Havilder.	Do. ..	4 8 2½	3 4 6	7 12 8½	399	2 0 9½	6 9 0	8 9 9½	4 8 2½	3 4 6	7 12 8½
Duasrat Sing Havilder.	Do. ..	7 0 9½	4 4 3	11 5 0½	400	3 13 7½	8 8 6	12 6 1½	7 0 9½	4 4 3	11 5 0½
Munoor Khan Havilder.	Do. ..	4 12 7½	3 3 0	7 15 7½	401	2 6 4½	6 6 0	8 12 4½	4 12 7½	3 3 0	7 15 7½
Ankhl Khan Havilder.	Do. ..	0 4 5½	1 0 2½	1 4 8	402	0 4 3½	1 0 4½	1 4 8	..	...	1 4 8
Surjoo Havilder.	Do. ..	6 14 8	3 6 9½	10 5 5½	403	4 5 6½	6 13 7½	11 3 2	6 14 8	3 6 9½	10 5 5½
Imamooden Havilder.	Do. ..	4 15 0½	2 5 3½	7 4	404	1 9 0½	2 5 3½	3 14 10	2 7 6½	1 2 7½	3 10 2
				0	405	1 9 6½	2 5 3½	3 14 10	2 7 6½	1 2 7½	3 10 2
Boodree Sing Lance.	Do. ..	3 6 6½	2 2 9½	5 9 4	406	1 12 5½	4 5 7½	6 2 0½	3 6 6½	2 2 9½	5 9 4
Shalk Manjum Lance.	Do. ..	3 3 0½	5 3 9½	8 6 10	407	3 3 0½	5 3 9½	8 6 10	3 3 0½	5 3 9½	8 6 10
Peor Khan Lance.	Do. ..	0 7 3	0 10 7½	1 1 10½	408	0 7 3	0 10 7½	1 1 10½	0 7 3	0 10 7½	1 1 10½
1st Emambux Lance.	Do. ..	0 13 7	6 10 7½	7 8 2½	409	0 13 7	6 10 7½	7 8 2½	0 13 7	6 10 7½	7 8 2½
Bhoye Singh Sepoy.	Do. ..	2 9 3	4 2	6 11 11	410	2 9 3	4 2 8	6 11 11	2 9 3	4 2 8	6 11 11



*Comparative statement B showing the difference in the amount of malikana as shown in A Register of 1877 and 1891 and in the schedule attached to Revenue Commissioner's letter and Malikana Register.*

Tauzi No.	Amount of malikana.		Present name of proprietors.
	As shown in schedule attached to Revenue Commissioner's letter and A Register of 1877 and 1891.	As shown in Malikana Register.	
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
395	0 9 5½	0 9 0	Ramesh Narayan Datta and others, son of late Hara Supdar Datta, village Sarbari, police-station Malda.
396	0 9 5½	0 9 0	Ditto.
397	0 9 5½	0 9 0	Ditto.
398	2 5 3	2 5 0	Atal Behari Gosain and others, son of late Chami Das Gossain, village Ghariali Chak, police-station Kaliachak.
399	3 4 6	3 5 0	Md. Sadaruddin Choudhuri and others, son of late Rabhu Choudhuri, village Syedpur, police-station Kaliachak.
400	4 4 3	4 4 0	Hara Sundar Gupta, son of late Raghunath Gupta, village Sujapur, police-station Kaliachak.
401	3 3 0 (a)	3 3 0	Ramesh Narayan Datta and others, son of late Hara Sundar Datta, village Sarbari, police-station Malda. (a) This amount has not been shown in A Register of 1877 and 1891.
402	1 0 2½	1 0 0	Humayan Reza Choudhuri and others, son of late Johad Ahmad Choudhuri, village Katalpukur, police-station Barharua, Santal Pargana.
403	3 6 9½	3 7 0	Ramesh Narayan Datta and others, son of late Hara Sundar Datta, village Sarbari, police-station Malda.
404	1 2 7½	1 3 0	Ditto.
405	1 2 7½	1 3 0	Mohini Mohan Agarwala and others, son of late Nadia Chand Agarwala, village Sarbari, police-station Malda.
406	2 2 9½	2 2 0	Kishori Mohan Mandal, son of late Gangadhar Mandal, village Meherapur, police-station Kaliachak.
407	5 3 9½	5 4 0	Ramesh N. Datta and others, son of late Hara Sundar Datta, village Sarbari, police-station Malda.
408	0 10 7½	0 11 0	Ditto.
409	6 10 7½	6 10 0	Ditto.
410	4 2 8	4 3 0	Ditto.

(5) *The Commissioner of Rajshahi Division's finding No. 1603R./XXII-3, dated Jalpaiguri, the 6th May 1918, to the Collector of Malda.*

With reference to the correspondence resting with your letter No. 526, dated the 31st January 1918, on the subject of certain applications for mutation of names in Register 66 "Recipients of permanent malikana", I have the honour to say that after discussing the matter with you and examining the land registers in your Collectorate, the position appears to me to be as follows:—

2. Lands were set apart as jaigirs for invalid sepoys out of Mauza Krishnapur, the proprietary right to which did not belong to Government. The date of this is uncertain, and the procedure laid down in Regulation 43 of 1793 and 4 of 1804 was not exactly followed. The lands were not purchased from the proprietor but they were separated from the mal lands before any permanent settlement was made. The Collectorate registers show that the permanently-settled estate bearing Tauzi No. 140 comprises only such lands of Mauza Krishnapur as were not set apart as jaigirs. It is, therefore, only those lands that are hypothecated for the payment of the revenue demand fixed in perpetuity for Tauzi No. 140. The jaigirs have been permanently settled with the successors of the original grantees subject to the payment of sums which include revenue and malikana. The whole of this is payable in the first instance to Government, and the jaigir lands are hypothecated for it. The malikana is then payable by Government to the original proprietor of Mauza Krishnapur or his successors in interest; but until now no such payment appears even to have been made or claimed.

3. This being so, the right to receive malikana on account of these jaigirs is not inseparable from the full proprietary right in estate Tauzi No. 140. If the latter estate were to fall into arrears, and to be sold in default under the revenue sale law, only the full proprietary right in the lands now shown as constituting that estate would pass at the sale. The right to receive malikana from the jaigir lands which do not form part of that estate would, I think, not be affected. The fact that a person now stands registered as proprietor of Tauzi No. 140 is not therefore sufficient to establish his claim to receive malikana on account of these jaigirs. Any claim to such a right must be established by derivation from the original proprietor of Mauza Krishnapur as distinct from the recorded proprietors of Tauzi No. 140, which comprises only a portion of that mauza.

4. From paragraph 8 of your letter No. 4906C., dated the 14th/23rd December 1917, I gather that evidence of the transfer of this right to malikana has been adduced in respect of 10 annas only (viz., 3 annas 8 pies, 4 annas 6 pies, 1 anna 10 pies). Assuming that this evidence is satisfactory, it would justify you in recording the claimants jointly with the present recorded malikanadars in Register 66; but as there is no provision for separate accounts in respect of malikana, it would not justify you in making any payment of malikana, except on the joint receipt of all the recorded malikanadars. If living persons can now establish claims to the remaining 6 annas share, mutation may then be granted in respect of the whole 16 annas, and thereafter payments may be made on the joint receipt of the 16 annas recorded malikanadars for such amounts as have accrued during the time that they have been jointly recorded, and are not barred by limitation.

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